

Name Richard B. Gregg  
Subject General notes XXI  
Instructor .....  
Date Begin Aug. 1933

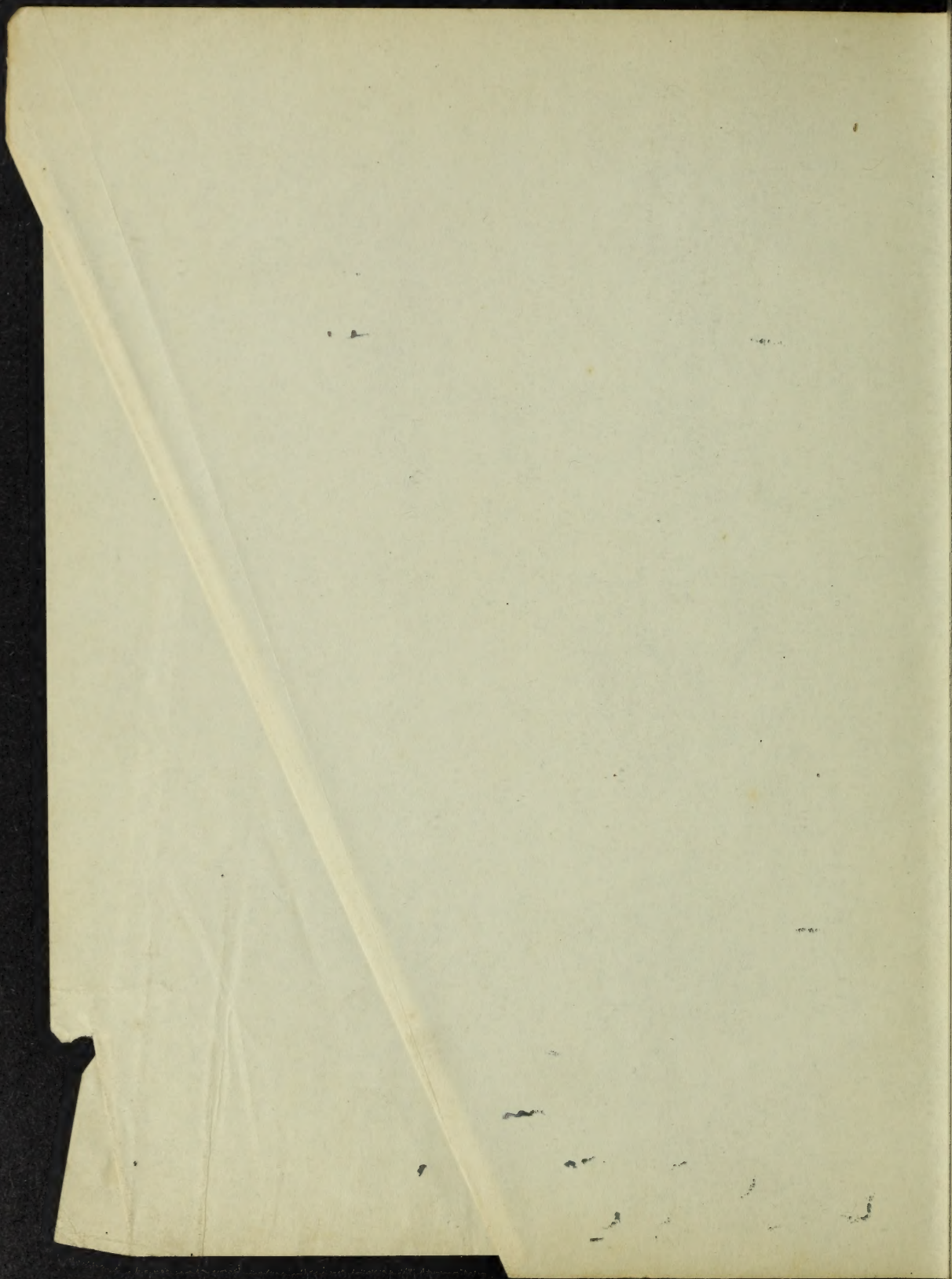
J. L. Hammett Co., Cambridge and Newark



Richard B. Jegg  
25 Edgell Road  
Framingham Centre  
Mass.

at a distance  
from







Aug 22. Simplicity of living grows out of the purpose to be in harmony with and part of nature; complexity out of the purpose to "master" nature.

---

When someone proposes living simply, giving up wealth, giving away surplus things & living with the poor, the reply usually is, "That won't help relieve their poverty at all. That won't do any good." But the big trouble, the big problem to be solved, is not the poverty of the poor, not the securing of enough material things for everyone, but securing human unity and ending human divisions <sup>and selfishness</sup> and ~~diversities~~. Acting in that way does help toward that problem.

Aug 24. Gandhi's unconditional release after his last fast (August) shows that his moral power is still as great as ever, even over his foes. The story that there was no excitement in the legislature was false on its own evidence, and probably put out knowing that the release was coming, to pretend that it was all because of the "generosity". The Govt had a bad conscience in the matter. Probably the restrictive ruling on which Gandhi fasted was made hastily by a subordinate eager to try to punish Gandhi. The Govt was too proud to acknowledge publicly that it had made a mistake & so had to let him go completely, on another ground, rather than retreat on this one. He will again compel them to imprison him, but next time they will have



him free to work on untouchability as  
 he sees fit. So ~~it leaves~~ the incident  
 raises his prestige again in every-  
 one's eyes. That will make Churchill  
 & Co all the milder, so their efforts  
 will be redoubled. It will also annoy  
 some Moderates to see Gandhi's prestige  
 rise again, tho this time they will  
 realize that it was at the expense of  
 Govt. So they will be apt to harden  
 their demands on the Govt, & thus  
 make matters more difficult for it.

---

Aug. 28. Gandhi & his method may not  
 be able to compel the cowardly and selfish  
 Indian Moderates to actively take up C.D. with  
 the Congress, but it drives them to resist  
 Gp. Br. by passive obstruction and failure to  
 help, - perhaps not even steady open

refusal, but lumpy and craven inactivity. This compels the Br. to assume the whole moral & energetic burden of administration and execution and planning and delays progress so much that the active Congress opposition will have time to gather strength once more. Even Gandhi's death would have this effect.

This is due to the secret shame that the Moderates have at the contrast between their cowardice and Congress courage, between their selfishness and Congress self-sacrifice, between their inferiority-complex and the Br. & Congress self-respect and self-reliance. Thus the Moderates have a double sense of inferiority, both in relation to Br. & in relation to Congress and Gandhi. Their intellectual arguments about constitution



5  
tional methods and their desire for position  
or retention of capitalism do not end their  
resent shame. They get plenty of public  
criticism, too.

---

Almost none of the recent European  
developments were initiated by Gr. Br. or  
seem to have been controlled by her. She is  
losing her grip & her prestige. If Indian  
Moderates & Moderns lose respect for Br.  
prestige they will be more apt to turn  
away from her. Feisal's recent stir<sup>in Iraq</sup> vs Br.  
control will help make Moderns realize  
that Br. power is slipping. Perhaps  
something will happen in Egypt to add  
to that impression. Developments  
between U.S. & Gr. Br. this autumn may  
help lower Br. prestige. Br. criticism  
vs Roosevelt's policy shows fear of its

mean + hope that it will fail.

---

For my book try Fleming H. Revell,  
W. W. Norton, Bobbs-Merrill, Covici-  
Frède, Knopf, Methodist Book Concern,  
Y. M. C. A. Publishing House, Dodd-Mead,  
Little Brown, Century-Appleton,  
Some Negro Press? A Dealer press?

---

Selfish people are morally immature.

---

<sup>Part</sup>  
~~Part~~ of Gandhi's asceticism is due to  
his desire not to take the benefits of  
capitalism. It makes him a real  
revolutionary. ~~Partly also a sharing of the~~  
~~burden with others~~ It is partly a  
giving up a non-attachment to the  
fruit of work. As such it is  
profoundly in keeping with Jeta. 1/2



the desire is still present within, of course the asceticism works evil and the desire only bursts out in some other way.

The Gita rule fits with Freudian ideas about evils of suppression of desire.

Because it leaves plenty of room for action, it does not prevent the satisfaction of most of the instincts.

Sept 15. News of Gandhi's decision not to seek imprisonment for a year is good. This gives him time to hammer home untouchability reform so that it will have political results; to mollify Moslems; to guide other Hindu leaders; to give country a sense of direction; to revive its morale. Also he foils the probable <sup>the</sup> plot to do away with him by cat & mouse plan. But his survival & threat of renewal of C.D. next year will

worry Br. Tories and tend to make them  
hold back on W.P. scheme both in its  
provisions & in putting into effect.  
The further restrictions and the delays  
will deepen Moderates' misimpression  
and resentment. If the refusal is  
stiff enough there may be another  
move for U.C.O. If France goes off  
gold & U.S. & Gr. Br. enter into a  
currency depreciation war, the Tories  
will be even more cautious in India  
& so increase the chances of Indian  
revolt. Gandhi being free will stimulate  
& guide the Indian movement.

Why is individual C.D. any better than  
mass C.D. now? Because it is done by  
those who have special understanding,  
discipline and courage and  $\therefore$  can be carried  
through; because it acts as example and



training for others; because it maintains opposition and stirs admiration, while the force of other events are pressing the other parts of India into action again. Perhaps, as in previous cases, the Br. proposals must be tried by the gullible Indians, to prove by hard experience that they will not do. Meanwhile, courage is the rallying point for a fresh opposition.

We are probably bombing on H.W.F. in order to demoralize at home the need for the army, because very clearly this is the army expense which is delaying & will delay the beginning of the W.P. scheme. But these bombings are beginning to rouse Moslem sentiment in other parts of India.

Sept 25. Example is not only the ~~best~~ most cogent but the greatest teacher. ∴ Example is the way to teach N.V.R.

7. I deny whether it is worth while  
talking and explaining about Gandhi's  
ideas. Do them, act them. The  
people who cannot understand, <sup>+ follow</sup> action  
are like people born blind or born  
deaf. ~~to be understood~~ In this way  
middle class standards & education  
are a method or mode of crippling  
people's sense of reality & of spiritual  
truth. Spoil our sense of <sup>human</sup> unity.

Following an example is ~~a~~ <sup>proof</sup> of  
real understanding. If "Not he that  
saith Lord, Lord, but he that doeth  
the will of my Father."

---

7. To H. G. Overstreet wealth should  
mean whatever we hold in common  
with others. Such things which we  
do not share or wish to share with others.



do not constitute wealth but a form of poverty.

---

Matters are not coming up for England in India, or we would hear some boasting.

---

John F. thinks that machinery & industrialism will "write a new Magna Charter for mankind" and "may be made humanity's most effective instrument for emancipation and enrichment, if socio-economic leadership does not, through muddling and mismanagement, permanently cancel, as it has permanently halted, the potential contribution of the machine to a man-centred civilization." But that is a big "if". It means overlooking the selfishness of mankind. Does machinery reform men's hearts? If not, it will not

save them. We may not overlook man's  
+ apt of his moral culture  
nature, in considering the effect of machinery  
upon him.

He thinks (p 328 of "Thunder & Dawn")  
"that the steady advance of science and  
technology, plus an increasingly intelligent  
race, upon the part of business men  
and industrialists, for the most efficient,  
most profitable, and most consistently  
dependable forms of organization,  
processes of production, and methods of  
distribution will correct most of the  
existing evils of the machine economy  
and make for a stable and significant  
post-economic order". But he over-  
looks business & financial sabotage due  
to vested interests & capital sunk in fixed  
plant. He talks about leisure & the  
effect of idleness. He overlooks the



stent & power of debt to clog technology.

He admits, p. 342, that "we shall not see a wise administration of this new agency of social change (electric power) unless the voice of the engineers and of the industrial captains dominate the voice of the financiers alone in the development and control of power". They won't. Cf. attitude of M.I.T. profs toward financiers.

Mr. Lawrence Houseman, Esq.  
Songmeadow,  
Street,  
Somerset, England.

Another friend of Vinner Elvins' is  
Rev. H. L. Hubbard  
All Saints Vicarage  
Margate, England.

Also. Horace Alexander & Agatha Harrison

Oct 21. In reference to machinery, to say <sup>that</sup>  
"we cannot go back" to pre-machine methods  
keeps the question & is ambiguous because it drags  
in a moral implication. Has an idea that you  
cannot give up a habit, one formed, no  
matter whether it is good or bad. It is true that  
we have to proceed from where we are now,  
but to give up something that is a mistake is  
not back in any moral sense. We do  
make returns to ancestral ways without  
any sense of defeatism or failure or retrogression,  
as witness the matter of ~~some~~ styles of  
women's clothes. We "go back" to war,  
a method of our ancestors, whatever be  
the outward changes. If you travel along a  
road, come to a fork, choose one of the  
two roads & later discover that it is  
leading you into a marsh or over a  
precipice you have no hesitation or



sense of moral defeat in returning to the  
fork and taking the other road which  
leads in a fruitful direction. Our silly  
attitude is that all <sup>historical</sup> "movement" <sup>is</sup> <sup>exchange</sup> moral  
~~progress~~ & intellectual progress. It is not so  
for certain nations or races which have  
been ~~stuck~~ & got into blind alleys. To pursue  
making may lead us into <sup>some</sup> such impasse.  
We need not think that we are incapable  
of making a large-scale mistake.

The fact that ordinary politics has corrupted  
all socialists who enter it, (vide Br. Socialists,  
Germans, etc.) especially all those who once  
attain office and <sup>political</sup> power means that  
without N. V. R. Socialism cannot succeed.  
A mere desire for truth is not enough  
unless accompanied by the courage &  
conviction of its efficacy when coupled

with non-violence.

Because of the evils & errors of machinery & its implications, & hence those of industrialism, & their bad effect on industrial workers, the latter will always be likely to fail in establishing a better world. Farmers & peasants are near the ultimate truth; the decentralization of rural life is sound; the farmers have the ultimate power because they create food. Hence it is perhaps more important to do social work among farmers than among city industrial workers. Certainly it is as important. Hence, my going to live as a farmer is not a deviation of the struggle.



What Nevins Sayre (Tagore) says about  
 supremacy of personality over external power  
 is made clear in N.V.R. Personality is  
 the <sup>most important</sup> supreme type of organization. N.V.R.  
 not only respects the personality of the  
 opponent but by its action insists that  
 personality, including that of the opponent,  
 is more important than external power or  
<sup>than external</sup> control over ~~the~~ men.

Also N. Sayre points out that attraction  
 (~~from~~ <sup>toward</sup> personality & fortitude & beauty) is  
 different from coercion, & it is such  
 attraction which may be negatively considered  
 as compulsion, which N.V.R. rejects. Those  
 who feel it call it attraction, those who  
 do not, call it compulsion. ~~This~~ of my  
 letter to Burmese of Oct 26.

If in every dealing that you have with  
any and every person you try to stimulate  
and realize in him & in yourself the spirit of  
God, you need never be worried or disturbed or  
troubled at all, no matter what the reaction.  
Most stimuli require application many times  
before the result comes. Of the sun's  
warm in spring, stirring the sap and  
seeds & general growth. ∴ Do not be  
discouraged by any apparent failure at first.

---

Nov. 3, 1933. Satyagraha results in  
an illumination & <sup>new</sup> realization by the  
opponent which, via the subconsciousness,  
alters his values and hence his will.  
A scholarly study of the psychology of the  
will would throw light on this.



People who call going to a farm an "escape" with implication of cowardice are just throwing mud because one doesn't run with the foxes. It is no cowardice to do what you think is economically & morally right and sound.

---

Nov 11. Recently Bayne wrote in *Hairpin* that religions can live & continue only if their believers undergo taxes for it. Religions live only by such taxes. The same is true of social systems. U.V.R. is such taxes. Capitalism coerces people into the taxes of war, but it is result of fear & is not morally voluntary on a large scale.

## PRINTING OF GANDHIJI'S WORKS

*Navjivan Press On Its New  
Plans 1933*

AHMEDABAD, June 3.

The Manager of the Navjivan Press, Ahmedabad in a statement to the press says that the closing down of the Navjivan Press owing to the existing political situation has had some results which the Navjivan management would like to avoid as far as possible.

One of the results has been the stopping of all printing of Gandhian literature for which there is an increasing demand.

While the management cannot think of restarting the press until after a settlement is reached, they think that they owe to the public to supply them with clean and ennobling literature which it has been the ambition of the Navjivan publication department to provide practically at cost price.

They have, therefore, decided to get books which are in greater demand printed elsewhere as soon as possible.

They have decided to open their bookshop at Gandhi Road, Ahmedabad. The printing of several books by Gandhiji has been already taken in hand and they will be ready by the middle of June 1933.—A.P.

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standings.

But the United States, believing the debts to be as sacred as any other obligations, deeply resented the European attitude that, after all, the money advanced was merely the American contribution to the war, little enough compared to the European sacrifice of men; resented bitterly the appellation of "Uncle Shylock" and insisted on payment of the greatly reduced sums. The dislike resulting from the debts was more acute on the European than on the American side of the water. It is said in private life that a loan destroys friendship, and it is human nature that when a loan is not paid the debtor is inclined to be more bitter than the creditor. He has to find excuses for himself and he therefore builds up a case against his creditor which finally makes him out a monster. After all, nations are merely collections of individuals and mass psychology is only the exaggeration of individual psychology.

Thus began the reaction in sentiment against our associates in the war. Nothing

The moral economic reforms fail because they offer nothing to change the heart of man, i.e. his control over his own self-interest and divine impulses. The appeals are only to his reason, not to his heart.

Violence, more than anything else, blows the working class.

God is in every creature and thing. Our duty is not merely to wait for this spirit to struggle into expression but to call it forth ~~and~~ by our acts toward others & by <sup>creating</sup> an attitude of expectancy. We ourselves should get into an attitude where we realize the fact is true that we spontaneously and

constantly act accordingly.

Patience is one result of action without  
desire for fruit of work. Not minding unduly  
if people cheat or lie or steal from you is  
another result. Always keep the same  
attitude.

No man should seek a standard of living  
higher than what he would get by raising his  
own crops, and the trust he gains by helping  
his neighbors. This sets a standard, but does  
not require everyone to be farmers. If  
everyone helps others uniformly & at higher <sup>level</sup>,  
the standard of living of the whole community  
will rise & stay high, & that of the individual  
will rise with it. But more intellect of  
one may not be enjoyed by another perman-  
ently unless the mutual help is high, for



without high moral standard civilization breaks  
down.

Work out the psychology of why not answering  
back works best. One criticism of a past act and  
angry discussion a mixing of the planning  
stage with the stage of execution?

One reason, aside from ideas about property,  
why people get angry when a thief steals  
from them is that the action is one way of  
the thief telling them that he does not  
trust them to be decent, to be human, to  
share with him. It is a denial of human  
unity.

"Was, Saturn - Pacifism" by Edward  
Glover, Allen & Unwin, 1935, 35.6d.

The intelligencia must not be alarmed  
by the masses getting real power of veto through  
N.V.R. The intelligencia will still retain  
initiative, necessarily so, and still retain  
many other advantages of education & certain  
kinds of training. Only they must become  
less selfish.

---

Get publication of the Welsh Textile Assoc.  
of University College at Cardiff, Wales -  
Homespun wool.

---

Because with money we can rely on it  
to carry us along, we become irresponsible  
and do not try to do always the fine things  
which will win trust. Thus the influence  
of relying on the symbol rather than on  
reality tends to falsify our whole life.  
It is very bad for children & is one of the



big handicaps for children of wealthy parents.

---

Christ's saying about leaving parents etc for him meant that we should not so limit our influence to a small sphere as to deny it in a larger one. But not a mere matter of scale & size either.

Institutionally one must act ~~to~~ to enhance the unity of all people & all creatures, <sup>in</sup> every aspect of life. His injunction to the rich man to sell all his possessions & give to the poor is an example. Principle of all reform.

---

There is something <sup>steady</sup> in work for the poor that gives courage such as is needed in N.V.R. Perhaps it is the formation of a habit of implying human unity.

The movement of N.V.R. & of the F.O.A.  
is for the creation of a new & finer civilization.

---

Chandis' latest step makes me  
realize that if you love someone who  
makes a mistake it is no use to condemn  
them. The only thing to do is to love  
them, show love by kindness, & try  
to do right yourself & let force of  
example be the only reproof, or  
rather, ~~at~~ the only attempt to alter  
his conduct & help him to see his  
mistake. Never point it out in  
words, ~~also~~ if gently done.

Asceticism is a recognition of the  
fact that everyone is greatly influ-  
enced by his surroundings & all  
their subtle implications. ∴ Each



person should consciously choose surroundings  
 that will not lead him astray & that  
 will emphasize human unity. Gandhi  
 will now be surrounded by pressures &  
 influences, some clear & distinct, some  
 subtle and ~~quite~~ ~~meaningfully~~ hidden or  
 apparently harmless or apparently meaning-  
 less, which will prevent his idealism  
 from operating and which will steadily  
 push him further & further to the Be  
 side. His father's pride & need for  
 money, & the boys' natural ambition &  
 pleasure in speaking, & the Be desire to  
 capture the <sup>best</sup> young Indian for  
 their uses.

Gandhi will win where Buddha  
 failed, in reform of untouchability, because  
 "This is now a time of far greater ferment &

change of habits & thought; (2) There is  
pressure from foreign rule crying for  
unity among all Indians; (3) There is  
foreign criticism of untouchability, bitterly  
felt by ~~a~~ not Hindus; (4) Gandhi is  
more skilled at mass movements than  
(5) The Hindus themselves are this time awaking, long repressed  
was Buddha, & a better politician.

The Br. are not <sup>genuinely</sup> reforming either  
in their own Br class affairs or  
in their relations to Indians, whereas  
Hindus are deeply reforming

From "Hindian" Nov 10, 1935.  
"Social prestige in the last resort,  
when it is not based on actual differ-  
ence of blood, power and education,  
depends on a species of bluff. The  
moment the masses, who have been  
relegated to the position of the lower



classes, love or discard their accepted position status of inferiority and claim equality with the higher classes, if the differences of blood, power and education are no longer operative, nothing in the long run can prevent the recognition of their claims. "

Student Climatic Movement Press  
58 Bloomsbury St.  
London, W.C.,

No good to ask rich people to "get off the backs of the poor". I intend ask them to share the load, ~~but~~ get them to work alongside the poor & see ~~the~~ understand their handicaps.

Under R. B. Holt's explanation of conflicting wishes as forming conflicting conflicts of char-

acter, the verse about "Blessed are the  
pure in heart, for they shall see God",  
acquires new meaning. The one-  
pointed, those of single-mind, are the  
pure in heart, and hence are not diverted  
in either vision or action or thought.  
With a unified will they see God in  
everything & work for Him & accomplish  
miracles - à la Gandhi.

When I find I have made a bad mistake  
of policy & become committed to it for awhile  
(if hard) or face myself honestly &  
realize I am too weak or cowardly to  
do the thing I know is right, then I  
must look at myself objectively as a  
general orders his troops when too  
weak to engage in battle, set to work  
to strengthen & discipline my forces,



to get rid of weakness, to improve my  
resources, and prepare myself definitely  
by a certain time to do actually the  
thing that is right. Use my time in  
carefully stimulating my powers, in  
associating my mind with ideas, my  
feelings with sentiment, my acts with  
virtuous preparatory to practice acts,  
myself with the right kind of persons,  
especially with God & the ideas of human  
unity, love & truth.

---

To speak of someone having an inferiority  
or superiority complex is really incorrect,  
as shown by its final implications and  
also by its sweet and most permanent  
cure. Really <sup>both are</sup> ~~it is a~~ failures to relate  
<sup>correctly</sup> oneself to God and human unity.

Remember that one can never attain  
purity of heart (singleness of purpose devoted  
to God) without sufferings, for suffering  
always is a part of adding oneself to  
attachments to inner things, persons,  
and purposes. But once one attains the  
right relation to God one gets a new  
& finer relationship to all other persons,  
inner & things.

In developing consciousness of  
pacifists there should be prepared  
a list of dates of significant  
events in history of pacifism - e.g.  
birthdays of celebrated <sup>historical</sup> pacifists  
such as ~~Christ~~ Jesus, John Fox,  
Wm Penn, Mary Simon, John Russe,  
Thoreau, Tolstoi, P. Roland,  
Gandhi. Also the dates of various



non violent victories. On those dates  
have talks about the beatings of such  
men, or the history of such events, or  
the principles involved, etc.

---

I think that capitalism cannot be  
overthrown except by <sup>self-control</sup> simplicity and self-denial  
amounting to asceticism for those who do the  
work of accomplishing it. Socialism ~~values~~  
assumes as much material goods and thinginess  
as capitalism, the same emphasis on  
bodily comforts and material wants and  
satisfactions. Even the establishment of  
communism in Russia required that much.

---

Jan 3, 1934. I suspect that part of the motive  
of Tom Br. Richards in opposing the Indian  
White Paper is their conviction that another  
world war is coming and that in that event

also they speak for the office. U.S. Government which does not want to give any of its privilege or franchise

they want to be in as full control of India  
They fear another resurgence of Indian Nationalism in India <sup>as</sup> <sup>was</sup>  
as they are now. They do not think that  
Indian upper classes ~~can~~ have been long enough  
disciplined in control of masses to enable them  
to withstand temptations of Indian National-  
ism. Also they feel strongly the <sup>commercial</sup> competition  
of other nations and wish to preserve India  
as an absolutely controlled market for  
Br. They have seen Br. <sup>controlled</sup> police police  
force where Nationalistic outbreaks  
but fear that with an Indian <sup>Home</sup> <sup>Minister</sup>  
the Br. control would be less and  
that Indian <sup>managed</sup> police would be less likely  
to break up boycott of Br. cloth than  
~~entirely~~ <sup>entirely</sup> Br. controlled police.

Capitalism is highly organized greed.  
Gandhianism is Acent on quantity and  
measure and more. Gandhianism is organized



generosity, kindness, equality and brother<sup>h</sup>ood.  
The value of liquor, so prevalent in the West,  
is ~~linked~~ <sup>allied to</sup> with greed. Gandhi's emphasis  
on simplicity of living, going to the poor,  
austerity, small scale & organization, control  
of machinery ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> contrasts capitalism.

Probably any effective overcoming of capital-  
ism must use these aims and means.  
Russia retains machinery, but, for the  
reasons stated by Rajagopalachari, I  
think that this is a weakness in Russian  
tactics.

---

I suspect that another reason for Mr.  
Ting's opposition to the White Paper is  
that the families which have been  
prominent in the I.C.S. hate to give up  
their jobs. Certainly the White Paper  
scheme cuts down the number of P.C. jobs

in India.

---

There is a fairly close connection between fear and sentimentality, i.e. divorcing action from feeling & ideal, being unwilling to carry out ideas into action. Which is cause & which effect? Once a habit of sentimentality is established in little things it would carry over into the big issues. Sentimentality is the weakness of "liberals". Sentimentality in religion would affect the ~~fields~~ <sup>fields</sup> of life. So ~~perhaps~~ the weakness of Christianity is sentimentality rather than religion. Perhaps the <sup>prolonged</sup> operation of thought from action involved in a college education would also tend toward sentimentality & hence to ~~for~~ social fear. Another reason for



doubt - regards college education. Antirach  
 is better that way, & the Hindu method -  
 also good. Einstein's idea about giving  
~~for~~ young people a period of freedom  
 from responsibility needs qualification.  
 They must at least be responsible for  
 living the thoughts they are thinking.  
 Cf what Wm James said about this.

---

As Arjun urged to fight for the  
 same reason that Gandhi told Indians to  
 resist in <sup>the</sup> world war, - because he still had  
 fear & anger in his heart & did not know the  
 better way nor have enough discipline &  
 self control.

---

In India at present (Jan 1934) Gandhi's  
 hold over the peasants is being reestablished  
 & demonstrated to other (urban) Indian leaders

and also to the British. This means not  
only Gandhi's personality but also his  
ideals & methods. At same time that  
the untouchability reform is going forward  
a lot of Indians in that movement are  
being trained in devoted, unselfish discip-  
lined leadership & winning the heart of  
the Hindus and pariahs. In this  
reform the poor of the cities as well  
as poor of countryside are becoming  
more devoted to Gandhi. Many of these  
Hindu leaders are also Congressmen.  
The energy of Congressmen is working  
out into Hindu & Khaddar work, -  
both of which are to the country.  
The leadership of Gandhi is becoming  
further demonstrated to Moslems.  
Keeping silent on political issues for Muslims  
is O.K. for it ~~reduces~~ takes away chances of



communal outbreaks. Such great audiences  
+ tours preceded each of Gandhi's previous  
big political pushes. Of Hindustani  
Brook and also the tour of 1929.

The sentiment of love for people you <sup>have</sup> disliked is  
necessary for both Satyagraha and Harijan work,  
so the Harijan workers will make good material  
for leaders in struggle for Satyagraha. The  
volunteers who protect Gandhi from the  
crowds at each place are getting contact  
with him, getting their sentiments strengthen-  
ed and formed, and seeing what discipline  
should be.

Gandhi may not start his offensive  
immediately next August. It will depend  
partly on the state of mind of the country  
and what Park has done with the  
Indian report.

In FOR work get some dramatists to  
work out peace plays, some musicians &  
poets to create work on similar topics.  
Also some cinemas.

---

Orchestration is the only way that  
one can get rid of responsibility for  
the maintenance and support of capital-  
ism.

---

The meaning of the dramatic events  
in India <sup>of the past 3 yrs</sup> is sinking home in the ru-  
ling class & also among all Indians.  
Drama always has to be pondered before  
it takes full effect.

---

Work out a program for stimulus,  
spirit & discipline of each of the detailed  
intentions required for N.V.R.



Re F.O.R. memo - try to establish  
 sublocals among Negro & labor groups,  
 also among the foreign born.

Sent copies of my memo to C.F. Andrews,  
 J. Nelson, Madison Kader, Negro leader at  
 Washington, <sup>and W. L. Allen</sup> also Johnson at Fitch, Royce W. Belding,  
 Farmer labor leader - friend of Long's, <sup>President in Knoxville</sup> (see Negro file)

It is important to work with middle  
 class as well as labor groups because  
 the middle class have big advantages in  
 any social struggle. I.e. They have  
 education, self-confidence (i.e. absence of inferiority  
 complexes), social prestige, technical skills  
 especially those of engineering & management,  
 experience in management & organization work,  
~~from~~ foreign ability & practice. These are the  
 reasons why Social and no revolution could

never without the help of the middle  
class

---

Note the diff between the Jils. imagination &  
idea that only the gods are working & that  
god is the real cause of all our acts, and  
therefore to give all our acts each day to god;  
and the Xian idea of self-surrender to  
god so that god may work through us  
& we be only his instruments. The  
Western idea seems to have more dynamism  
in it, or maybe that is only because it  
is couched in a form that appeals to me quickly.  
Yet the Hindu idea, being strange, first  
opened my mind & gave me new vistas, which  
later the Western idea entered again, this  
time with full meaning & power.



A <sup>refusal</sup> <sup>refusal</sup> would be refusing to call in  
- politician if needed, or to use in court

I have recently sent copies of my  
pamphlet to Cila Pochra, Mrs. Hardin,  
Jawaharlal Nehru (very different notes),  
Mahindramath Tagore, Hindustan Times editor,  
Beynon, Tucker Smith

Sent to Ananya Sen, Mrs. Selang  
(Cila Pochra), Ed of Selang Times, Charles  
Andrews, Sister, Ed of Hindu,

When I work out the UV discipline, provide  
for a period of staving and then a respite  
from it, to allow the subconscious working  
to mature & to stop the suggestion of  
possible failure coming from the staving  
in Bandura's law. Also to allow pondering over  
the dream & meaning of it.  
Also as not to put too much strain on newly disciplined  
troops.

Howell Hunt

Re F.O.R. Council meeting & N.V.R. The letter came in World Tomorrow for Jan 18, 1934.

"The memberships of the F.O.R. voted four to one that the Christian approach to social problems should be emphasized. Jesus himself repeatedly discouraged demands for justice. He disapproved of the workers in the vineyard who demanded equitable pay. He deprecated the demand for justice by the older brother of the prodigal son. He rejected Martha's plea that Mary help with the housework. When asked to make a brother divide the inheritance, he said: 'Who made me a judge or arbitrator over your affairs?' Other passages reflect the same view. Why?"

"The Christian objective, as Jesus himself presents it, is not a material achievement of universal plenty, but a



spiritual values of universal comradeship,  
truth, joy and participation in beauty.  
The material world is of no importance  
whatever except as affording a setting for  
a spiritual drama. The slave, the  
ragged beggar, the agonized mother, the  
infidel woman, the dying thief can,  
if they will, enter immediately into the  
spiritual kingdom. The rich man can  
enter only with the utmost difficulty,  
and only by surrender of his privileges.  
We are already in the midst of eternal  
life. Economic reconstruction is purely  
incidental; we must attain the spiritual  
values of mutual understanding, dedicated  
service, and the apprehension of God in his  
amazing world, or we fail utterly in our  
life business.

"To gain these goals, Jesus taught,

love is a wholly adequate means and a deeply satisfying end. Love itself is the fulfilling of the law, the knowledge of God, and the abundant joy of living. Without love we are nothing. But violence - whether it be physical or psychological - destroys love.

(3) *Substitutionary Love*  
The insistence on justice for oneself destroys love. The vital test of all our spiritual striving is whether we are able and willing to go the full length of the method of love, and to tend to that method utterly, no matter what it may do to our material interests.

"The steps required of the follower of Christ are the voluntary surrender of selfish privileges, the joyful readiness to incur suffering for himself whenever that will advance the cause of spiritual understanding and fellowship, and the



permeation of all his relationships to others  
 by active love. Even if that program  
 could not succeed in abolishing war, in  
 rectifying our present grossly inequitable  
 distribution of income and of power, or  
 in reorganizing the social order in other  
 ways, it would still be the essential  
 and exclusively Christian procedure,  
 for to adopt it is to enter into the  
 Kingdom which Christ came to estab-  
 lish. But actually it is the most  
 powerfully effective procedure possible  
 in seeking to achieve the will of God  
 on earth. Even the solution of  
 our economic problems hinges above  
 all things upon dedication to the  
 common and ardent faith. These  
 essentials are menaced or destroyed  
 by physical or psychological violence;

they blossom forth whenever even a few  
are willing to put the Christ method  
unreservedly into effect in their own lives."

Honell Hart.

[ Prof of Social Ethics at Hartford (Theological  
Seminary) ]

This is <sup>the</sup> because of "seek ye first the  
Kingdom of God, and all these things shall  
be added unto you".

In a sense, my M.V.R. book is in  
part an attempt to make clear why  
"all these things shall be added".

---

Another good thing to write  
would be a compilation of quotations  
pertinent to M.V.R., an expansion of  
the references in the notes of my book.



Work out library of essays, books, etc  
on each of the sentiments & characteristics  
of N.V.R. Emerson, Wm James, Pascal,  
imitation of X, .o Ask Fred Trapp, Jim Grogg,  
some scholarly R.C. priest teacher or Episcopal  
teacher, Dr. Baker,

N.V.R. Refusals:— to receive or charge  
interest on loans, to display the American  
flag on patriotic holidays, to watch military  
parades, to cheer soldiers, to sing hymns  
that contain phraseology of war or of fighting or  
of vindictiveness, to say harsh words of people,  
to repeat mean stories about people, to express indignation,  
to flatter people, to take part in occasions  
of mindless social distinction, to talk much of  
money values, <sup>Each refusal is the negative aspect of a</sup>  
<sup>positive effort. ∴ work out the corresponding</sup>  
<sup>positive effort and apply that.</sup>

If you pray as I advised, you  
sensitize your mind to ways that lead to  
the desired end & thus suggests ways of  
attaining it & making it come true. You  
see the significance and relationships of  
forces & events & imponderables you other-  
wise would not notice. Thus you can  
take advantage of & use them to the desired  
end sooner than the opponents.

---

Some <sup>are</sup> refusals are for the individual and  
some for groups. They blend into one another.  
Some refusals relate to the government; some to  
social customs; some to financial or economic  
customs.

---

If you work for human trust instead of for  
money, do not expect or try to draw on the  
fund of trust lavishly or immediately as soon as



It is created. The expression or fruit of that fund of trust is & must be mostly spontaneous on the part of those other people. It is in part a community fund and under everyone. All in the community derive benefit from it. ∴ It is a way of bequeathing wealth to the community and to posterity. It cannot be thwarted <sup>as expected</sup> by any legal suits for breaking your will.

Jan 22. '54 About a week ago I realized that the big Indian marches of 1930 and 1921 were preceded by Gandhi's tours of ~~the~~ over all India which united the people, made them realize their own solidarity, and invigorated their devotion to their leader and hence to their common cause which he represented. This fact gives significance to Gandhi's present tour of all India in behalf of ~~its~~ untouchability.

after  
In D. J. Mearns' "Hunt, the jungle  
fact", (Boston) p. 16. He writes of ~~old~~  
hunting, <sup>by game</sup> ~~animals~~ and says you must always  
make a warning noise just before you  
shoot. "When you give warning you  
have asserted the superiority of your  
nerves over ~~those~~ of your adversary's,  
and that is half the battle won."

"As for the other two rules, my father  
said that the who feeds on flesh, man or  
beast, carries with him the odor of  
the meat-eater, a warning to all animal  
life in the jungle. So also with fear  
and hate; man, like the animals,  
exudes a curious and unmistakable  
odor when he is afraid and when  
he is angry, which perhaps holds



his presence and his weakness to the sensitive nostrils of the jungle people."

Consider the first of those remarks in relation to Gaudlin's always notifying the fact of his plans in advance. The second is interesting in relation to the physiology of eye & face.

The refusal vs ~~inner~~ emotions & inner attitudes must be accompanied by the "oppressive effect of a <sup>a different</sup> fresh emotion" or of a fresh & different environment. Some exterior refusals can <sup>for a while</sup> be effective without different constructive action, but not so in regard to inner states. Even the outer refusals must sooner or later be replaced by different constructive positive action or they will wither & be abandoned.

Doing things without fearing  
of works enables one to do them with a  
pure heart. It enables one to avoid the  
suggestion of failure and therefore the  
stimulus of the imagination in the direction  
of failure. (cf. Randomness)... It enables one to  
avoid <sup>pleasant & painful</sup> ~~fear~~ of ~~consequence~~ to oneself as  
well as the hope of profit or praise. It  
takes one's <sup>& ~~desires~~ ~~interests~~ of self</sup> ego out of the picture and  
puts God in place of it. It encourages the  
idea of self as only a channel for divine  
energies. It harmonizes with idea of  
"these be the qualities". It fits with "Take no thought  
for the morrow". It ends  
hurry and worry and fling.

The method of N.V.K. in both political  
& ~~political~~ private relationships avoids the  
mistake of trying to reform people by telling  
them what they may or may not do.  
Instead it decides what I & my party will



and will not do and refuses to cooperate  
or help the consent to the doing of  
other things.

N.V. refusals - to my taxes, or to  
they certain have considered morally very  
wrong.

self-help,

Unemployment relief, <sup>self-help,</sup> better, small-scale  
organization, spinning, weaving, grinding grains  
by hand - all work in together as building a  
substitute for capitalist system. Hand mills would  
do in better health & saving machine bills. These  
work against money, wages system, large scale  
organization, & excessive use of machinery.

Funerals are bad because they emphasize loss  
when there is no loss in spiritual realm; ~~my~~  
loss (i.e. selfishness), the ~~bad~~ importance of the body;  
grief (fear thoughts) Self-pity. <sup>offset by use of solidarity</sup>  
~~and machinery~~

N.V.R. when pursued widely & thoroughly will result in small-scale political and economic organization loosely knit into larger federations. That is one reason why it will make capitalism.

---

For discussions of <sup>particular</sup> sentiments see writings of essayists, critics, and ethical writers.

---

The book by Gerald Stanley See "Best Working" - pub. by the Coordination Guild, Northampton, Mass., 1925 points out that drill in position & posture is the most pleasant & natural method of keeping limber, of holding & increasing our habit of ~~good~~ self-control. This is probably the basis for military drill & posture habits.



They are not used in actual warfare. But  
The self control thereby engendered is trans-  
ferred to other spheres & occasions of  
action. ∴ I think that N.V. Roster  
should practice daily posture exercises.

Not by themselves, for we do not want to  
develop military rigidity, <sup>or lack of initiative</sup> & obeying  
outer orders. Also the proper kind of  
posture will be impressive on public  
appearances and will give self-confidence,  
inner poise, ~~and~~ relative absence of fear,  
endurance, <sup>patience</sup> for work, physical  
satisfaction & ∴ appeal to those who  
are more minded & not <sup>especially</sup> intellectual.

Refuse to be indifferent, <sup>or conventionally right</sup> on occasions  
when one can show simple human kindness,  
picking up a dropped bundle or paper for  
someone, giving a seat in a car, smiling in

sympathy; etc.

---

It is said that one may not transfer one skill to another line; e.g. that the facility developed in learning Latin cannot be used in learning Math. Maybe so, but the moral qualities so developed may perhaps be transferred e.g. self control, persistence, self-confidence. So also with the qualities developed by bodily posture drill will, if military experience is valid, be transferred to action in F.O.R.

This drill in posture would be good for all members of F.O.R., but especially urged for the relatively small groups who would go into active service. might not ischythemic dancing be



good, or some similar group dancing?  
 Dancing is symbolical of joy & peace &  
 security

Marching drill gives a sense of doing  
 things together, of unity, of mutual  
 support, ~~of unity~~ and makes those feelings  
 into habits, of confidence, of self-control,  
 of obedience. If we do it, change commanders  
 often so as to reduce tendency to  
 authoritarianism & militarism, so that  
 anyone can be leader as soon as another  
 is arrested. With in the real leadership  
 & guidance comes from within. The outer voice is  
 only to serve mechanical unity.

---

Some of our shuffling from voluntary  
 suffering of the middle class is probably a  
 form of laziness. In fact much cowardice  
 is that, especially the fear of social progress.

Ordinary capitalists are able to disguise their moral responsibility for the sufferings of the poor, by the irresponsible interferences of money, large scale organization, etc., & ascribe it to moral defects of the poor, e.g. "ignorance", "economic stupidity", dirt, disease, crime, shiftlessness, etc.

Satyagraha strips away all that pretence and compels the recognition of responsibility (because it compels realization of unity). It shows the poor to have high moral qualities.

The capitalists' conviction of moral rightness & his confidence that capitalism is such a huge success are both pretty well undermined now. What remains is to end his obstinate selfishness, his fears of novelty and his dislike of doing what he has done



I should alter the last chap in WVR book. Bayne didn't serve people in order to earn their trust but because he believed in human unity & loved people. This did be the motive of all Salyagratins. The trust comes & then the protection of public opinion. But if the motive is to win trust then the action will stop short of what is needed & the response will not be so deep. Insecurity will be detected. A good example of "all things being added unto you if you seek first the kingd of g."

The Salyagratins  
~~but~~ <sup>but</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~kingd~~ <sup>kingd</sup> of g. demonstrates the unity of mankind.  
 It shows in action what that means.

Although fear is an emotion, courage is not an emotion. i. not the spont intuition. Courage is an attitude, a way of

meeting difficulties and dangers, a  
~~unplanned~~ <sup>unplanned</sup> skill, that can be acquired  
by a process of habit formation + of  
acquisition of skill. Courage is more  
the result of the (acquired) skill or  
inclination to act, a sort of self-  
assurance & confidence. Courage is  
more of a sentiment than an emotion,  
tho in some cases it is instinctive.

---

Strengthen my HVR book by

- ✓ 1. Strengthen psychology of conversion in chaps <sup>50-12</sup> III.
- ✓ 2. Perhaps as part of that the psychol. effect of dreams  
on spectators (atonement, & metanoia, reconciliation).
3. Insert details of habit formation, both for individuals &  
groups. Mention skill by wrestling. & prize fighting.
- ✓ 4. Stress acts of love, doing good for evil.
- ✓ 5. Refer to lists of ending on each sentiment.
- ✓ 6. Middle class advantage of instinctive will but only



one or perhaps 2 generations, for after a rev. education will be universal

✓7 - Perhaps group all the discussion <sup>voluntarily</sup> of <sup>the</sup> suffering ~~down~~ at one place. I.e. to be used as a tool, not macrostructurally.

✓8. <sup>First</sup> Dissent for personality of opponent shown in Satyagraha - unless opponent like the Satyagrahi

3, & 9. ~~Conclude~~ In mass NVR class (V!) ~~down~~ better than are elements in crowd psychology which would (a) make crowd act differently from an individual Satyagrahi (b) which would make effect on a crowd of opponents different from those on a single opponent (of Martin)

✓10. After last class a further doing sense. He didn't to show only. The result is a by product of examples of "all things being added"

11. Answer Nicholas' letter in class thought

chaps

- ✓ 12. Discuss in more detail the conversion of capitalists
13. Consult notes in my note books.
- X 14. In class str. chaps insert paragraph saying that method is more important than ideal structure of society. <sup>its q's better to</sup> <sup>include in note</sup>
- X 15. I - same str., discuss what a Subjugator should do in class str. if audience occurs.
- ✓ 16. Note to Catholic fathers book re union simple
- ✓ 17. p. 540 note 4 insert drains as form of education.
- ✓ 5. 18. I ~~insert~~ last 2 chaps insert idea of progressive refusals (veto)
- ✓ 19. In f. on animals refer to the D'Angel.
20. Add to advantages of simplicity. It is a refusal, a veto vs capitalism (good), a refusal to accept its  
• comfort, a detachment from desire



For FOR, and perhaps as a post note  
in my book, write out a statement on  
formation of new habits & giving up old  
ones.

---

Gr. Br is helping Germany, I think,  
partly to balance off France and partly  
to prepare to attack Russia. Also Br is  
encouraging Japan vs Russia & vs U.S.  
A war between U.S. & Japan would  
please England as it would put its  
two keenest competitors out of the

running commercially & financially  
for a long while. Perhaps  
Japan is getting ready to strike  
either Russia or U.S., whichever  
seems most likely to interfere with  
her. But, in case of war, and  
even before it, I think India  
will get free from GB.

---

In one aspect capitalism is a habit  
of mind & heart. To get rid of it  
we must use much of the technique of  
getting rid of other old habits; -  
work out a concept of the new habit (this  
is the advantage of Socialism), stimulate  
our imaginations in the new direction,  
try it again and again.

N.V.R. is working out and application of the implications of the belief that all life is a unity, and that humanity is an organism. So all the details of of ~~the~~ <sup>the expressions of</sup> ~~Salvaguardia~~ must conform, and Salvaguardia must include, all the implications of that idea.

---

Capitalists argue in favor on ground that it is so much more convenient to have a common measure of value and medium of exchange, indeed that this is practically necessary of large scale trade (i.e. modern capitalism) is to exist. But if gold is to be used as the basis for money and then the bankers are to be allowed to treat gold as a commodity and trade in it, that puts an end to having a stable unit of value and immediately puts the common people entirely at



the money of the traders in money (banknotes).  
So absolute gold is a basis of money, makes  
the money an abstract measure which  
cannot be traded in, ~~and~~ or else go back  
to barter.

---

Lucien pointed out that I could not  
gain the ~~same~~ trust from people enough  
to draw large voluntarily to me to get  
education until after I had lived quite a  
few years in the same community.

---

Is capitalism a form of repression of  
in individual minds, of the finer feelings and  
impulses of humanity? In so far as it is  
good, good certainly suppresses those finer  
impulses, and stands on external ~~appeals~~  
or on false inadequate public standards  
as not a repression

Satyagraha is establishing a superior organization by the ~~indulgence~~ of his own families and personality, and also a superior form of <sup>small</sup> group organization.

Whenever Bapu is blocked against expressing human unity in one direction he expresses it in another.

When Bapu gets to Bengal, the tales he will hear of the repression will be likely to turn him to action fairly soon.

Harizon ~~movement~~ is having I think in ~~business~~ organizing & working together for public aims, also developing leaders. Cutting down ~~individual~~ <sup>individual</sup> powers.

In WPA work we work with, & oppose.

But is there more than this? There is an op

premise of sense of unity

The use of social distinction is a  
means of social control does a thing.  
It creates inferiority complexes <sup>among</sup> the  
masses and it helps to rule the working  
class of its present leaders.

Simplicity is one form of refusal (rejection)  
of greed (capitalism),

Use the imagination for Self-realization

The process of the Hagen experiment  
will end

I want to know about psychology of  
will & of habit to work out how UVR  
~~best~~ alters will & habit of capitalists,



also is as to ~~make~~ people to establish  
 habits of ~~the~~ V.R.

---

If workers profess that they will use  
 violence only in self-defense, they will  
 have to prepare themselves to use it, ~~and~~ at  
 least to the extent of talking about it.  
 Then their opponents - the employers - will  
 not believe their protestations and will  
 rather suspect the workers of preparing  
 to attack. Just as in international military  
 relations. So the employers will attack  
 first. ~~There is no~~ On the workers  
 will think there are different times when  
 'self defense' <sup>by violence</sup> becomes necessary. The old  
 story. There is no such thing as purely  
 defensive violence. (over)

External violence is not a crime.  
 It is the fighting, the extermination

of long continuing internal process of  
fear & suspicion & hate & anger.

It seems to me that when  
violence breaks out in the class  
struggle the thing for believers in  
N.V.R. to do is to ~~continue~~ refuse  
to enter into the violence, but to  
continue with their constructive  
work as usual, just as they did  
while the violence was wholly  
internal, & of the feelings & thoughts,  
or hidden under forms of economic  
or social coercion. If when the  
external violence breaks, the NVRs  
are sufficiently disciplined & numer-  
ous they ought to stand between the  
violent parties, & by their suffering  
& deaths convert all parties.

of Gandhi's actions during war time

If the workers should be induced to use violence rather than be afraid, but to try to use the better way.

Being a strikebreaker <sup>under the union is wholly g.v.</sup> is as silly as it was in one time. Not constructive but only helps on the damage. Of course help with the wounded if you are there, but do not <sup>prepare &</sup> organize for it in advance.

In Class Struggle chap of my book insert Gandhi's instance of when violence should be used & state what a R.V. should do.

---

In last chap. Gandhi has helped poor as an implication of unity, not for self-protection.

---

Drama is a confrontation of two tendencies or ideas, reinforced & made explicit & detailed & argued by action. By



inequality the speculators feel the  
conflict within themselves & perhaps  
for relief are compelled to make a  
change.

---

Feb 11. Because R V R will bring  
about real equality of opportunity, &  
equality of education, it will bring much  
buried talent to the fore and permit  
for more progress of all sorts among the  
nation which first adopts it thoroughly.

---

Machines make greater production,  
but that does not do away with the  
necessity for sharing evenly among all.  
If so, someone must set the example  
in order to persuade everyone to do it,  
for without (such) persuasion there  
would have to be compulsion, i.e.

violence, in order to bring about universal  
 even sharing. Hence Tolstoyism, for  
 this reason also, requires extreme sim-  
 plicity and voluntary poverty, even in  
 Western countries where machinery exists.  
 Later, after people are persuaded to share  
 equally, the bounties of the machine  
 may be shared by all. But now, however,  
 while there is so much selfishness.

So Christ is still right, even under present  
 conditions, in telling the rich man to  
 sell all he has and give to the poor.

and Gandhi is right <sup>also</sup> that is,  
 provided we really want <sup>improvement</sup> a world. Can't

judge it by saying ~~alleging~~ that  
 socialism is ~~harmful~~ or bad. Perhaps  
 it is bad as an end in itself, but as  
 a means to a <sup>just</sup> social & economic end it  
 is O.K., when linked up with a

positive method of reform. ∴ As soon  
as I get a positive method of reform  
well worked out, I shall adopt volun-  
tary poverty.

---

According to Aveling, willing includes  
both choice and a sort of <sup>immediate</sup> experience of  
self-activity. "Willing is different from  
striving or exertion, tho it is followed  
by striving. The act of willing merely  
chooses a ~~definite~~ <sup>definite</sup> feeling among an  
infinite range. So the will factor is closely  
connected with the central core of personality.  
Desire is not distant. It is ~~the~~ a <sup>series</sup> of a  
specific <sup>concrete</sup> organism. Values are determined by  
the organism & the environment, in relation to  
conscious will. Group instruments are part of  
the environment. Nothing is willed unless it is  
foreseen. "The intrinsic principle which con-

of self-activity the relation of a  
will to the environment



states ~~personality~~ a person is a self-conscious will provided with intelligence to be used as an instrument for the securing of its ideally conceived ends by the choice of appropriate means. -- The intrinsic principle of personality is simply intelligent will."

"A person is an individual, unconsciously acting on himself, who is not merely will, or energy directed by goals and determined by motives, but an intelligent will contemplating means to ends and making its own motives." Francis Aveling

"Personality & Will" Herbert & Co., London 1931.

pp 136-147 see statements & values.

Mrs. Schmalz's statement that the 9 for most middle class people (& minorities) is not whether violence in the class struggle is right or wrong but what should we do when violence

arises. This implies that the middle class leaders do not intend to give up their positions so easily share with the workers. The real q. is what are we to do before violence arises, to try to prevent it.

Whenever I blame others for certain evils, it is usually a sign that I am trying to dodge my own share of responsibility in the matter, & excuse my own failure to act.

---

Emphasis in U.V.R. looks the claim of respect for opponent's personality, shown in U.V.R. This, from earliest childhood we tend to like and trust those who show respect for our personality. It has some effect even in conflict. Respect for the opponent's personality is <sup>an</sup> ~~one~~ of the <sup>important</sup> ~~strong~~ elements of chivalry, whose chain added much to its power.

- ✓ Modify last 2 chaps of U.V.R. book by what I have learned about Cabot. Perhaps a p. or so on skill, with reference to justice & travelling.
- ✓ Use J. A. Richards on his criticism in explaining what drama does
- 

Unruhshagen has shown that political or social disunity is due to <sup>most</sup> defects in one or other of the parties involved. ∴ Very wisely he has at least purifying his own party, - from intolerance. ~~And~~ no relationship can be finer than the people who compose it.

---

One reason why review of the poor is skill for U.V.R. is that it is an expression & affirmation & stimulus of & to the idea of human unity. All U.V.R. is based on this. Strong realization of this unity brings



purity of heart or fearlessness (i.e. non-  
division & no loss).

---

Yarrow See - "Mind and Its Sources".

Allen & Allen, 1932.

p. 557. --- "The late William James was  
of opinion that any strong emotion,  
especially of a higher kind, would tend  
to deteriorate the soul, make it lazier,  
unless immediately drained off in  
behaviour. ---, The Reader who has  
understood the drift of the present  
book, will know my reason for  
disagreeing utterly from William James'  
view, and will have been prepared for  
what I have just said of the im-  
portance (even the practical and  
moral importance) of keeping the  
field of life's adjustments, i.e.

behaviour, separate from the field of  
 aesthetic contemplation. ---- Aesthetic  
 contemplation is refreshing and renewing  
 just because it is segregated from the  
 stresses and adjustments implied in  
 conduct, inasmuch as it is, as I have  
 said, a change in the gearing of our  
 activities. -- Such an (evolutional) value  
 may attach to aesthetic contemplation  
 just because its emotions - say those  
 constituting the 'Higher Planes' of mind -  
 are not drained off at once (or ever!)  
 in behaviour, but are allowed to settle  
 as a new stratum of what we call the  
 soul. --- Such contemplative happiness  
 may have left behind it a finer and  
 more lucid organism <sup>(organization) (etc.)</sup> of harmonious  
 sensibilities, excluding or filtering, sublimating  
 and harmonizing the more self-assertive

and self-centered instincts. --- A process  
of "spiritual capitalization". ---

358-359

"Besides all the other appeals  
varying with the very variously  
reacting individuals, music ministers  
to an underlying vital need for expe-  
rience as such. A need which, finding  
satisfaction in all other human activ-  
ities, ~~spend~~, muscular, or cerebral, may  
itself, I cannot help (groaningly)  
furnishing, be fundamental and  
older: need for change in life's processes  
of replenishment and elimination; and  
when the activities are psychic, change  
felt as vivifying and grateful ex-  
citement."

---

Give as a great tree gives its shade



Try to think out the necessary principles & disciplines (habits) for a new culture & civilization. I think they will include (a) great simplicity of living amounting to asceticism, as a veto on capitalism (greed); (b) use of n.v.r., (c) religion, made effective by principles of integralism; (d) abolition of race & class divisions; (e) revived sex morality & practice; (f) decentralization of economic & social life; (g) reform of money; (h) control of machinery; (i) Ikadi or its equivalent; (j) single tax on the support of the new State.

From Christopher Dawson's "Inquiries into Religion & Culture" - Sheed & Ward 4/6. 1933.  
 P. 26. "It was not from the peasants or the industrial proletariat, but from the ranks of the lower nobility and the bourgeois intelligentsia that the leaders of the

revolutionary and terrorist movement  
rose from the time of Herzen and  
Bakunin to that of Lenin himself."  
p. 75. "The first consideration for a  
society is not to maintain the volume  
of its 'industrial' production or even 'the  
standard of life' in the current sense of  
the expression, but the quality of its  
population, and that cannot be secured  
by the mere expenditure of money on the  
so-called 'social services'; but only by  
the preservation of the natural founda-  
tions of society: the family and  
the land". (i.e. social agriculture)

---

If middle class liberals are to be really  
effective they must eliminate the cult of  
capitalism from their minds & simplify  
their lives

The proletarian must have their own means of production & distribution. Must not leave all that to another group. In order to create truly fine character, the people must retain their own initiative and control over their own means of living. Socialism puts the control and initiative into the hands of a bureaucracy, which in course of time would develop its own vested interests and selfishness. The whole modern industrial system takes initiative and self-reliance <sup>and independence</sup> away from the workers. Socialism would do it, too.

Socialists say that the ownership & control of means of production should rest in the nation as a whole. That implies the property system and probably violence to reform it. (?)



If women ought not to prostitute their bodies for money, neither ought people to prostitute their minds (or souls) for money. Indeed the latter is worse. Yet we put men who prostitute their minds for money into positions of great respect. Christ saw matters more clearly.

---

The Roman Catholic idea of the Church as an association superior to the state does not work out any better, in my judgment than that of the state, unless & until the masses & individuals have learned how to use Satyagraha. Then they can defend themselves against material power & creamonies of the church as well as of the state. Then there is a real basis for human freedom of thought, of conscience, of economic,

of politics.

International was one perhaps not another form of class war so much as that capitalism & violence are different <sup>of some thing</sup> forms, & find expression in different directions at different times. Perhaps international war will cease out of sheer terror of the consequences, and violence find its chief expression in civil war vs the workers. That will clarify the situation & workers minds will not then be deceived by the red lying of international war. Will be compelled then to adopt Gandhi's tactics.

Consider meditation as a stimulus to the exercise of the imagination. of Bandowin

It is said that in masochism the  
suffering is sought because of an  
unconscious sense of guilt. In the  
voluntary suffering of U.V.R. sought  
because of a conscious sense of guilt for  
upholding wrongful human institutions  
& wrong attitudes, and does this  
voluntary <sup>self-</sup> punishment arouse shame in  
~~the people~~ outsiders & opponents & ...

... to wear part of the blame & its cost?  
of. Fund "Civilization" & Dominants "to grow" - War, Slavery & Racism

If we gain strongly enough the sense  
that the life of humanity is a whole,  
~~and~~ <sup>that</sup> the spiritual unity of it, then we  
will have utter foolishness & even will  
not deeply feel pain.

Inner  
Inner pain comes gently from conflict  
within us between better self and bad



habits & weaknesses. The pain comes from the attachment to the bad habits & selfishness etc. If we are struggling to improve ourselves, we must then accept pain as the price. The bearing of the pain & continuing the struggle gives courage.

"The mind and in its thoughts lies all our strength. It is the courage of these fighting thoughts of ours which steadies our nerves and sends us forward to rebuild a life or a home or a town or a nation." Jewelle Marks. "Courage". -

So we can build courage by taking steady right thought.

~~"We can get into the habit of winning every victory, big or little."~~

"This little or big thing which we do almost unconsciously and call habit, at first took

effort to accomplish. Now that it has become a habit and the habit has grown into a need that must be satisfied, it would take more effort to ignore it than to obey its call.

In this imperious need for satisfaction lies the terrible octopus grip of a bad habit. In this need that must be satisfied lies, too, the splendid grip of a good habit. If we are controlled by the laws of good habits, our choice of the best is inevitable. There is a sort of natural medicine in a good habit, a continual 'cure' for what is weak and feeble in us, for example, the wholesome habit of work.

"Good habits are benefactors, great philanthropists, great warriors. They give us more energy, they increase our

abilities, they protect us, they multiply  
 joy at compound interest, they make the  
 future secure. Good habits are careful  
 accountants, and every day of every year  
 they put the interest of strength, of  
 intelligence, of courage, of joy, in our hands  
 to be used as we think best.

"Well may we be grateful for the  
 little victories and triumphs, seeing in  
 them some earnest of the victories to be,  
 realizing that in their partial and immedi-  
 ate force lies a vast potential energy for  
 good. Well may we be patient with  
 ourselves, strong in this patience, nursing  
 the little good within us until it can  
 walk, acknowledging that in the flux  
 and continual modification of human  
 life there must always remain some  
 deficiency in conduct, some part of



one ideal to be realized. Thus until the  
passion for perfection be ever living  
within us." I bid

p. 11

"~~The one thing~~" "It is not ~~not~~" "The  
one thing is to learn to control ourselves  
through the strength of our own  
natures; to learn that all outside  
forces are mere aids to the force  
which lies within us."

34

"The most learned man or woman is  
not the one whose head is stuffed with  
all the works of the philosophers, is not  
necessarily the conspicuous or famous  
man or woman, but is the human  
being who knows himself. .... He has  
built his life on the principle that  
what we are at the moment depends  
not only ~~on~~ <sup>upon</sup> making ~~up~~ <sup>our</sup> minds at  
the time being but also upon how

we have made up our minds countless  
 other times in thousands of minutes  
 already gone by and now out of our  
 control."

SB-51. "We go to bed thinking that we shall  
 fail on the morrow in that school or  
 college or civil service examination, and  
 we are not disappointed, for we do fail.  
 We go to bed thinking that we shall not  
 get that appointment we want, and we  
 do not get it. ....

"Instead of expecting the best of  
 others and by our expectations helping  
 them to the right or self-controlled or  
 lovable act, we are certain that we  
 shall get the worst from them.  
 And we get it! But we know  
 what others expect of us and feel it  
 and respond to it for better or for

words: - - - -

52. "One act of loving faith, of kindness, of confidence in another and his wish at bottom to do right, his will to grow, has more leverage power in it for good than a thousand reprimands - - - - -

53. "Wouldn't I, after all, show greater courage and a bigger heart if we, too, believed in ourselves and in others.

54. "That friend who lost his temper - well, why not make up our mind to show him by every act of confidence on the morrow that we know he did not mean to and that we are sure he is not going to do it again? And that temporary defeat, shall we not turn it into victory



tomorrow?

"We shall be surprised. All night long those grandiose thoughts we set just before we fell asleep will have been working for us, repairing the old confidence that had been lost and establishing us in a new and stronger belief in others and in ourselves. ----

"There is no such phenomenon as a thought without an inevitable progress toward action. Even as water seeks its own level, thought finds its way out in action. Thought is an act in the state of being born, it is not 'just thought and nothing more'.

"What about that unkind or unwise thought which 'didn't matter' because we 'did nothing'? But did we really do nothing? Maybe we did (p. 95)

In HVR, religion provides "the  
effulgent power of a new emotion", to  
get rid of old habits of mind, - and  
some such effulgent power is psychol-  
ogically necessary in order to form  
the <sup>new</sup> ~~old~~ habit.

It is interesting to note that of the  
— vows which Gandhi required of  
members of his ashram, five are the  
same as the yamas (restraints) which  
Patanjali required for yoga, viz: -  
Ahimsa (non-injury), Satya (truthfulness),  
Asteya (non-stealing), Brahmacharya  
(continence), Aangraha (non-coveting),  
Also there were added by other authorities

on yoga six other duties of brahmin  
 (forbearance), dhṛiti (fortitude),  
 dya (compassion), ājāra (open-hearted-  
 ness), mitāhāra (moderation),  
 śauca (cleanliness). The last is  
 more of an observance.

Most of these, or their equivalents, are  
 included in the Satyagrahaśāstra  
manus or the observances.  
 The new ones are śānti, fearlessness and hard labor.

April 1, 1934. It is clear that Moderns  
 are becoming more & more impressed  
 with Gandhi's accomplishments in  
 untouchability.



not follow it up and say aloud that we would not help So-and-So. But the sin of the mind is the greatest sin of all.

"Nevertheless, that thought was followed by activity, even though of a negative kind: mind-selfishness. Maybe we did not follow up that thought we just had about not denying ourselves some unnecessary luxury. But we had it, and if we did not remove it quickly and put in its place one of self-control, we were playing the part of a 'guiltier'.

"Perhaps we think ideas in themselves are not very important. But how does the child grow to the mature-minded man except by the blind acceptance during childhood

of the thoughts of others, his parents, his comrades, his masters? It is the way he mingles these ideas, and the power which they come to have over him which will make him what he is to be as a man. Even we

who are grown up somehow absorb the ideas of those around us. How should any mother or father of a child-

56. to-be, any lover of children, any friend or lover, think ideas unimportant?

"Always go to bed thinking of the good we shall accomplish the next day, the improved work we shall do, the greater victory we shall win over self or others. the love that makes life and work beautiful.

"Don't let us spend any time calling our own attention or that of anybody else

to faults, weaknesses, defeats, hatreds  
-----

"Then let us take to bed with us  
good thoughts, a prayer, a wish for a  
better life, confidence that love can  
never forget us and will ever be  
faithful, the remembrance of something  
beautiful past or to be, and the assur-  
ance of victory. ---

79. "Perhaps we do nothing that is  
visible to the naked eye, but if our  
minds are selfish, if our thoughts are  
mean or impure, we may be as  
repellent to others, as harmful in their  
lives, as destructive of peace, as if we  
were outwardly jealous or angry. That  
in a sense we cannot hide ourselves  
from others is the law of universal  
personality.



"A human being who has something to hide is a human being who is keeping others away from him; he has something they must not know, must not see, must not feel. But if we think that there is anything within us that can be hidden from others, it is here that we deceive ourselves.

"No evil can be entirely hidden."  
--- [Emerson] "What you are thunders so loud that I cannot hear what you say."

"There is no escape from this law of personality, no self-delusion, no evasion, no attempt to convince others of what is not true." ~~The best thing in the world cannot really deceive others.~~ Meeting this truth squarely, face to face, it is a triumph

times better to spend our strength in  
being and not seeing, to try to be  
open of mind and open of heart.

93. "All outward and conspicuous  
courage is based on the just. It  
is the child of many 'modest years'  
when heart and mind were in train-  
ing with the commonplace events of  
every day. From a process of heart  
and mind the presence of which  
we scarcely suspect, a development  
which has gone on for years, is  
attained at last a subtle quality of  
nobility, having its springs hidden  
deep in our subconscious self. And  
many human life has something of this  
quality.

.01

"The only freedom which rich or  
poor, wise or uneducated, young or old

can hope for, lies in slaying the best  
that is within them. There is no  
other freedom."

Courage Today & Tomorrow by  
Jeanette Markes, New York, the  
Women Press 1914.

Quotes from Christopher Dawson -  
"Enquiries into Religion and Culture" -  
Sheed & Ward 1933

242. "And thus the sociology of St. Augustine  
is based on the same psychological principle  
which pervades his whole thought - the  
principle of the all-importance of the  
will and the sovereignty of love. The  
power of love has the same importance  
in the spiritual world as the force of  
gravity ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> power in the physical  
world. As a man's love moves him,



so must he go, and so must he  
become.

307. "What the world needs is not  
a new religion, but a new application  
of religion to life."

322. "~~Civil~~ life" If he (man) lives  
for his society as the one thing in his  
life which is permanent, and through  
which in a sense he may survive,  
he does but enter upon a wider  
cycle of the same life process.  
Civil life can only satisfy when  
the society itself observes a spiritual  
end. " [But it doesn't have to be ruled by a  
church in order to serve a spiritual end and purpose]

In the V R books, the inferiority  
complex, must that it creates in  
times of crises a fatal hesitation and  
~~loss~~ lack of confidence.

It is true that <sup>dealing with</sup> for <sup>average</sup> people & money is necessary; that is, we have to transform ~~some of~~ or get expressed some of the trust into the form of money, & thus & express some of the trust into tangible & measurable form, nevertheless the ~~the~~ ~~to~~ intangible human trust is the reality in the situation.

---

"Right and Wrong Thinking" by Aaron Martin Crane, Boston, Dillingham, Lee & Shepard Co., 1905-06. Three impressions. Harvard Press.

---

The Haigun movement is creating thousands of leaders in villages & towns, giving them training in organization, self-discipline, ideals, contact with Jesus' unselfishness & devotion, example of service & practice in service, thus creating trust in them

among the villagers from lowest up.  
The same is happening in Bihar.  
All over India the Bihar Committee is  
stimulating sympathy for suffering,  
uniting the nation in a common  
effort, making people realize the  
conditions of others, giving wide  
participation in organizing & work in  
public behalf. Also ~~you~~ <sup>enlarging</sup>  
Bajendra Prasad's <sup>& Congress</sup> influence, & of  
course Bapuji's influence..

It is clear that <sup>in opposition</sup> ~~Sarvajanin~~ <sup>are</sup>  
daily growing fiercer & Bapuji's influence  
is steadily increasing.

So when the next big push comes  
there will be a whole new crop of village  
<sup>stars</sup> leaders for Govt to imprison, & it will  
be harder to get them all in. Former  
ones will almost all revive, too.



Villagers will be able, too, to do better without leadership, for with intemperance nearly gone their unity will be greater & their understanding enhanced. Also Modern orthodoxy will be weakened & more Moderns in the struggle alongside Congress. Sillies will be more friendly still. ~~Moderates~~ Right wing Congressmen will once more salute Bapu's strength & climb aboard the band wagon. Moderates will have still less reason for supporting G. K. & will be discarded by both sides.

Princes & ~~prince~~ their prime ministers are weakening toward Bapu, e.g., T. T. S. Wodekar, Muzra Feroze (Hydrabad), & the deposed one. Sankardev has been impoverished & weakened towards B. Industrialists are split by Jap incident & weakened toward Bapu. They will climb aboard the band wagon.

The Viceroy & his entourage are too early  
to see this. The Viceroy will be <sup>and</sup> still more  
so after his trip to England. Pride will  
blind him. Yet there are some Brs in  
India who are vaguely troubled, as evidenced  
by the Round Table Correspondent in Dec.

The final report of the J. P. C. and  
the debates in Parl on India will  
doubtless alter Indian Moderate & Primary  
opinion, too.

---

March 19,  
1924 When India has got rid of untouchabil-  
ity, when high-castes of Hindus have  
humbled their hearts & dropped their superior-  
ity complexes, the Moslems will lose  
their own superiority complex toward  
Hindus. All Indians, their hearts purified,  
will be able to see with striking clearness  
the falsity of the Br. assumption of

social & moral superiority, and the power of  
 Br. manipulation of feelings of such will immensely  
 decrease. That will greatly weaken one of the  
 strongest Br. controls. And when the world  
 sees that weakening in India & realizes  
 the moral rise of status of Indians in their  
 own self-consciousness & relation to Br., the  
 world also will cease to be affected by Br.  
 assumptions of superiority.

Thus the two great controls of violence and  
 social flattery & manipulation of mind ~~of~~ distractions  
 will lose their force ~~is~~ between Br. & India.

Parliamentarism is greatly weakened by  
 the loss of faith after the failure of the  
 R. Table Conference. Money control is  
 weakened by the increasing poverty.

Only fear holds down the masses. That  
 will go with the next outbreak of C.D.  
 & with the increase in social service & in unity.



Re N.V.R. ~~concerned with~~  
~~socialism~~, or as a political method,  
it is better than Socialism because  
it remedies the men who use it.  
Also Socialism, being a largely a  
matter of change of external organization,  
tends to be something for someone  
else to do, & makes its believers  
impotent with others. But in N.V.R.  
the reform begins at home with  
each individual, & its humility  
~~makes for~~ & purifying makes automatically  
for finer human association. ~~Political~~  
Political reforms then result auto-  
matically.

We recognize the instinct of self-  
preservation but often forget the higher  
instinct <sup>or noble</sup> of Self-preservation.

The violent disputes and remarks made in England when the discussion of the J. P. C. report begins will push plenty of Moderates into the Congress or at least ~~the~~ immobilize them from support of Br. Jant.

---

phil.  
24

The fear ~~that~~ <sup>of Br. repression that</sup> <sup>a popular revolt</sup> has dampened down Congress action, in India will be much reduced by the purifying effect of removal of untouchability. It will be a mass effect of the old Sanskrit saying in regard to the magic power of increased purity of heart.  
 "Truth dispels fear."

The communal unity achieved by Sainyan reform will make more Indians strongly opposed to the communal basis of Br. "Reforms".

Probably the split in Tory party is so  
much as to cause still further limitations  
on proposed Const. for India, <sup>in order to</sup> ~~that will~~  
~~will~~ hold out as. Labor party in  
England. a dilemma, If further such  
changes are made, India will unite  
against But the jig will be up.

Insofar as cruelty is caused by  
desire for power, N.V.R. ends it partly  
by proving that that means to power is  
a boomerang, also later by converting the  
cruel person.

Speed to accept offer of negotiation  
(cf. Gandhi & Irwin) proves the desire  
of the gentle winner not to humiliate  
the opponent, i.e. proves respect for the  
personality of the opponent.



"Right and Wrong Thinking and their Results"  
 by Aaron Martin Crane,  
 Baton, Githrop Lee & Shepard Co. 1905-1906,  
 Howdell Press. Excellent. In Framingham  
 Centre Library.

Mr. Horace Kallen says that the Bible  
 verse, <sup>13</sup> Job 13, "Though He slay me, yet will  
 I trust in Him" is a mistranslation; that in  
 the original Hebrew it is "He will slay me;  
 I have no hope; yet will I defend my  
 integrity to his face". Kallen compares the  
 first to the loyalty of the Fascist citizen  
 to the State. The second ~~one~~ version makes  
 the man free. This is Liberty!

If Indians get rid of intouchability  
 it will enormously ~~increase~~ their  
 self-respect & prevent the in future

from fooling them. Will end the  
opposition to O.S. rule. An increase in  
self respect will make the Indians  
all braver by removing the infer-  
iority complex & <sup>the</sup> increasing their  
awareness of unity ~~by~~ as result of  
granting equality will also give  
bravery & a great surge of energy &  
joy. of Boole's law. It will also  
add clarity to Indian thinking.

---

To avoid anger requires more than  
a means of diverting, changing or suppress-  
ing it after it has flowed up. It requires  
a preventive. Strong consciousness of  
unity & identity must be developed, &  
love. Perhaps an ability to realize the  
nature of anger & not to reply in kind.  
Strong understanding of how delicately

balanced is the human ~~and~~ personal  
 organization, - so easily disturbed yet  
 so mighty. Prevention must be a  
 discipline. Service of the poor, by  
 bridging the greatest gap in society  
 does most to remove sense of  
 difference & to promote sense of unity.  
 ∴ Service of poor helps to promote  
 bravery by creating unity & enhancing  
 self respect, - purifying <sup>the</sup> heart.

---

In old age try to seek God, as  
 Hindu way of life did, but add  
 western energy, perhaps, & seek Him  
 in work, as a Transcendentalist, so far as  
 energy permits. Cf. It's volume to  
 seek young man.



I must not postpone action for others.  
Must begin to devote 1 evening per week to it.  
Not talk ~~or~~ ~~not~~ writing but, <sup>direct</sup> action.

Apr 7      Tonight news re Bayan's statement at Patna  
sounds at first like a let up on C.D.  
~~But~~ And Be. may take it so. But do not  
forget that he has asked people to go to  
jail on individual C.D. & has only postponed  
his own. Really encouraging for  
discipline & control & central direction.  
An attempt to hold in impatient ones.  
Bilgramis must be wanting action, or  
perhaps aimed for U.P.

2-1-1      I think probably last report that Bayan  
will support new elections for Sevagram  
party is <sup>false</sup> rumor. But it may be he  
wants to let some Congressmen find  
self confidence in that type of action &

to keep himself as leader of them. ~~Also~~  
~~But~~ Maybe he thus wants to give them  
 organising work & to create an organ-  
 ization which can later be utilized.

---

Desire for power is a kind of desire for  
 unity, for real ~~and~~ <sup>among men</sup> power, cannot be  
 attained without harmony of function  
 & unity of feeling & ultimately of purpose.  
 The <sup>only</sup> way to secure influence (control) over  
 other people is first to secure control  
 over self. ∴ Discipline is necessary to  
 mass power & mass <sup>in U.R.</sup> Control  
 over <sup>inner</sup> violence is the key to mass control

---

True self-control is control by the  
 Self.

---

Socialism forgets that the time ~~of~~ must be  
 inner before it can be outer or effective.

Apr 9. Gandhi's latest advice to Congress seems further to test out the Govt's harshness & to make clear Gandhi's moderation. This will help to bring Moderates closer to Gandhi without dropping possibility of N.V.R.

of Kennedy on  
change of attitude  
positive & strong  
to anti-forgiveness.  
Mention  
also  
idea.

The whole structure of civilization, its economic as well as social aspects, rests upon moral relationships. Until these are made better, all the changes are mere exterior shifts with no resulting increase in serenity or improvement at all. The change must be of the heart, & because, to be permanent, it must affect the masses & alter their



ways, we must have discipline & new symbols &

Before I can ask a man to respect my ~~property~~ rights, I must prove ~~that~~ <sup>beyond any doubt</sup> that I am not taking or keeping ~~more~~ <sup>more</sup> than my fair share, and what is fair must be judged by reference to the poorest rather than by reference to the richest. It clouds the issue to say that only by concentration of wealth in few hands can economic & technical advances be made. As long as the advances are not in the realm of morals, the scientific discoveries do not make civilization sounder or more secure or permanent. It is the relative difference

in living standards, that ~~bring~~  
create discontent, resentment and  
social & c. insecurity. Even if the  
total or absolute standard of living is  
"raised", the insecurity ~~remains~~ of the  
relative differences persist. The  
total power of society may increase, but  
its use & direction is no better & the  
hust up then is all the more severe.

---

Don't let rude people, cheats, or liars  
make me angry or resentful, because thereby  
I would put myself in their power and  
allow them to ~~use~~ waste my energy and  
spoil my happiness.

---

The prestige that Gandhi is gaining  
on Indian reform will shove Khaddar  
ahead fast when the next push comes.

April 15

Bapu has always said that to attain  
 Swaraj there must be <sup>first</sup> ~~H-M~~ unity, abolition of  
 untouchability, H-M unity, and Khadi.  
 He has taught the people Satyagraha & they  
 realize its power and efficacy. Khadi is solid  
 and growing steadily and has now a big enough  
 foundation from which to make rapid progress  
 when the time comes. Abolition of untouchabil-  
 ity is making rapid strides and thereby  
 providing the necessary basis for H-M  
 unity. In a few months more probably Bapu  
 will ~~say that~~ start the preliminary talks  
 for that. Perhaps modifications of the  
 White Paper & the things said in Parl  
 debates will help regarding <sup>H-M</sup> unity.  
 Then things will be set for another big  
 push, and this time it will go  
 over, I think.

Modems see the best spirits of the



Congress backing up Bapu strongly on  
abolition of untouchability & i. feel  
they can trust Congressmen as well  
as Bapu. Even the Mahasabha is  
supporting Harijan work. Also  
Moderate see Bapu <sup>a Congress</sup> accomplishing  
more than Ambedkar on this  
matter & i. will tend to feel that  
Bapu's promises & attitude are ~~more~~  
stronger & ~~more~~ than Ambedkar's.  
All this helps to cut away the  
~~modern~~ support from the reactionary pro Br  
Moderate leaders.

April 21 Out of the Bihar disaster will  
come, under Bapu's urging, a great  
growth in Khadi, and a great  
demonstration to all India of the value  
of Khadi as a restorer of economic  
well-being. That in turn will

unit the provinces together, & unite  
 Bihar behind Bapu. Many  
 Moslem Biharies will go to  
 Bapu.

---

Real political power is based on  
 trust. Because Bapu has created  
 so great trust he has much great  
 political power. He is utterly sincere,  
 wholly truthful, utterly devoted to  
 the people, completely unselfish,  
 faithful to the highest ideals,  
 self-controlled, and an exemplar &  
 teacher of N. V. R. His heart is pure,  
 ∴ he has magic powers

All action is caused by God, ∴ it is our  
 duty to become aware & conscious of this.

vr. Cook

✓ Re E. H. Holt, Since the inch  
divides all, the character of the  
inch determines the result.

May 9, 1934. After this last revision of my book I should make for a future edition further studies into habit both for purpose of working out disciplines of m.v.r. & also to see how to aid in getting rid of old institutionalized wrong habits such as capitalism etc. See how Christian Scientists work their training. Work out methods especially adaptable to labor. See also <sup>penit</sup>my notes in <sup>books</sup>  
Fraser's work. Also new dope on laws of stimulus & response.

President A. H. Morgan of Antioch College wrote in his "Antioch Notes" of April 15, 1934 "~~Antioch~~" "I - a world of inevitable flux, fortune *non favore* 'we,



now is adverse. Theft and freight  
 tend to achieve and to maintain favor-  
 able conditions. Contracts are devices  
 for giving effect to freight and  
 planning, and for making human  
 relations predictable.

"Sometimes great shifts occur,  
 and the whole basis of living changes  
 for the whole people. A true contract is  
 a device for roughly maintaining  
stable relative positions of the parties.  
 If one party ~~to a contract~~ uses a  
 contract to maintain an absolute  
position, as with a gold clause, in a  
 period of general shift, then the  
relative positions may be violently  
 changed, perhaps to the great disadvan-  
 tage or destruction of one party, and to  
 the great unearned profit of the other.

"The most sacred contract, the relationships we should be able most safely to predict, is that men shall maintain confident and reasonable relationships to each other, for our whole society rests. Before that responsibility, all arbitrary contracts should give way."

---

May 13. The leaders Gandhi is developing in the untouchability reform are learning N.V. persuasion against the Sanatanists. and are doing it in a more religious spirit, with greater self-sacrifice and less taint of selfishness, <sup>manipulation</sup> than the most of the ~~young~~ political, <sup>Congress</sup> leaders. ∴ when the next Satyagraha movement comes the available leaders will be of finer character.

and  $\therefore$  of greater influence, and their sufferings will be more potent.

If Tagore can live to 75 so can Gandhi.

---

Dr. Rydell of Swarthmore said today that education is largely learning how to use symbols, and ~~that~~ ~~and~~ that an educated person was one who not only knew how to use symbols ~~right~~ skillfully but rightly and honestly, and understood the meaning behind them. He cited a conventional "society" as frequently an sincere or dishonest use of a symbol.

---

A large part of courage is in getting your values very clear & vivid in mind.



Instinctive courage is largely where the  
desires are very strong & simple & there  
has been no confusion of choices through  
over-intellectualizing or by money. Cultivated  
courage is partly a matter of habit (dis-  
cipline) & partly by clear thinking out  
of the results of various choices, com-  
paring them, decision & ~~action~~  
cultivating the imagination on one choice.

---

May 20. The situation now in India  
is in some ways better than in 1924.

There is a much larger body of men  
who believe in and are ready themselves  
<sup>The method has proved its power</sup>  
to offer C.D. The volunteers are poorer.

The country feels far more strongly  
the need for unity. Muslims like  
Hindus feel need for unity. The  
reform of untouchability is much

further advanced. Bhudda is much stronger. The Br. moral position is much more insecure & the Br are politically more divided at home. The Br in India are <sup>morally</sup> frustrated as shown by their utterances.

Peace is a by-product of <sup>the application of social truth, i.e. the action of</sup> strong, intelligent love. Being a by-product we should not strive directly for it, but instead should do the things which will give it as a result.

Put together under headings of my chapters on "VH" the sayings of the great teachers & examples of it.

Central anger by "the explosive power of a new emotion" - love. That is the only way it can be done.

✓ In my booky meet Tolstoy in  
✓ list of examples who have believed  
in God.

---

at Puddle Hill do my possibility  
a go & to inconsistencies - Perhaps  
get a group to put together writings  
of all the great non-resistant  
on this subject, using my arrange-  
ment. Would show historical  
growth of thought, etc. To be to  
P.H. my note books & my  
idea article on anything.

---

Simultaneity prevents creating  
any & inferiority complex which  
might lead <sup>or state in reaction for</sup> to violence later.

Leaders of world are ~~for~~ responsible  
for much violence because they



have shared in creation or maintenance  
of inferiority complexes (by rank etc) &  
believe later are a contributing cause to  
such violence. We <sup>don't</sup> all share in this.  
Hence the sincere LVR must live  
simply.

---

If we could end war we would then  
of plenty and much poverty. Both require  
increased sense of human unity.

---

✓ I - LVR book must read & study  
~~biological & psychological~~  
laws of stimulus & response

---

Somewhere I read that some  
doctor had learned that very small  
stimuli created changes in an insane  
patient where strong stimuli had  
failed. ~~It~~ Apply to LVR. If prin-

100  
ciples of high potency dilutions  
used in homeopathy. Look up  
books on homeopathy, chemistry &  
physics, plant biology & bio-  
chemistry for this.

Tolerance. From Antioch notes,  
Jan 1, 1926.

"There is greater value to humanity in  
tolerance than in any particular form of  
government. Tolerance is intelligent  
realizing its own fallibility; it is the  
open mind seeking to learn the inner  
worth of what may be strange or  
distasteful; it is good will, whose  
horizon is not bounded by self-  
interest; it is imagination, which  
can conceive of good in outlooks and  
conditions other than its own.

"Tolerance is valuable, not primarily because it saves the rights of individuals or of groups, but because it makes possible that play of the creative spirit in human nature which is the source of all social values. It sees the great good of the creative impulse beyond the evils of present error. Destroy tolerance, and we ~~destroy~~ dry up the springs of human well-being. --- Tolerance is not secured by a code, but by a spirit."

---

Children of the wealthy usually have a training in irresponsibility for the work of daily living. They do not carry wood, wash dishes, make beds, sweep, etc.



June 10. The Hainjan reform workers  
whom Bapu is developing & training  
have the qualities of love, tolerance,  
unselfish service, faith in human nature,  
love of truth, patience, persistence, etc.  
which are just what are needed  
for N.V. leaders. They are gaining the  
faith of the masses. Undoubtedly  
they are promoting Khadi. Such  
a band of leaders thru all the  
villages will of their own  
accord start N.V.R. of Bapu  
ties, — when the time comes.

Govt. opposition to temple  
entry reform is wearing <sup>its</sup> support  
thin. Presently the priests will want  
to open them, and then the govt may  
thunder to or in one instance seize the  
temple funds because of the breach of

"tint". Then the prints will want it  
 & away goes a powerful joint report.

Re Puddle Hill Teaching, have then  
 keep note books of their ideas &  
 queries, whether they arise in their  
 own thinking or in class or in discussion.

Take to Puddle Hill my Asia Article, E. of  
 W. my M. , my article on G's circumstances, my  
 Gendhian vs Socialism, Some of the longer quotes  
 I used in book, my own note books for 2 yrs past,  
 former note books, my notes on speeches, some of  
 Am. League of India's Freedom songs, new book on  
 machinery, Gita, Upanishads, W.T., Narada  
 Sutras, Comaravarnya's new book, new Vedanta  
 Young India all & etc. Also G's other writings.  
 book, I sh Upanishad, " Also medicine, even long  
 dollars. A new blank notebook - Koryphos' 2 pamphlets.  
 Ramakrishna's life.

Give talks there on various topics in above  
 stuff.

when new folder.

At Paddle Hill, after they have been  
through the book, test them with X's  
& Gandhi's inconsistencies, with the  
Patterson case, what to do in case war  
comes. If they want to do some  
work set them to compiling words of  
past exemplars under my heads. Or  
set them to work on habit, & a detailed  
plan for discipline of a certain kind of  
person or a certain kind of group. Or  
set them work on the <sup>place of</sup> value of simplicity  
in the program; or gather good stuff  
on one of the virtues; or work over  
some new symbolism <sup>a kind of stimulus & response</sup>. Work out  
some assigned reading for them in  
Tolstoy, Thoreau, Gandhi, Dao Tu,  
Hesse, etc. Set them re-read X's words  
& arrange them in relation to this topic.  
We might choose various kinds of conflict,



i.e. over different types of issues (money, labor, hours, working conditions, between different laboring groups in competition, race, neighborhood, religious, social position or recognition, etc) and between various kinds of people, (i.e. of different races, <sup>the</sup> classes, degrees of education, of various histories or traditions or nations), and ~~as~~ work out the application of KVM to conflicts between individuals and between small groups & large groups, between newly formed groups and well-established groups, between groups recognized & supported by law & those not so supported, between govt & people, between govt, etc. Take specific cases from history or from contemporaneous events. Here then follow my notes for supplementary reading.

---

The Round Table for June, 1934 points out that Gandhi & Ambedkar are the only two leaders with national rather than regional following. They underestimate Jawaharlal, naturally. But they are largely true, and this is one reason why the Swami Party will be so largely guided by Puri's advice and also why, by itself, and in its counsel entry tactics, it will prove futile..

Since Stanley Baldwin says the report of the Joint Select Com. will not possibly be out till early winter, ~~and~~ it may be later, & probably will have to concede considerably to Churchill & Co. Churchill & Lloyd represent, I believe, the B.C. end of the Indian I.C.S. bureaucracy, & their reluctance to

yield any power whatsoever to Indians. Even if on paper some concessions are made to Indians, they will be emasculated in practice in India. So a resurgence of ~~Conf~~<sup>left</sup> Nationalism is inevitably sooner or later.

The long period of waiting, with all the hardships & police raj, will make the peasants far more eager than before to rise.

Putty much. Churchill will compel the Govt to tie the chains tighter & thereby make the <sup>Indian</sup> intelligenciam still sorer.

Perhaps Gandhi will go to jail counting on the advent of Dalton to England to release him. Maybe my book may count there.

The present India struggle failed



and lack of understanding  
because of indisciplin<sup>e</sup>, of the Congress  
workers, - especially those in the cities.  
Also because of <sup>misery and</sup> their hatred of the  
British Govt. Failure to develop strong  
sentiments of N.V.R. Nevertheless, the  
understanding, <sup>& discipline</sup> were immensely greater  
than in 1922 or in any of the minor  
struggles. ~~But~~ Two other equally,  
<sup>strong</sup> - perhaps greater - causes of the  
failure were the lack of unity  
between upper & lower Hindu castes and  
between Hindus & Moslems. These  
two latter are being corrected now  
in the only ~~these~~ way possible.

Probably the <sup>public</sup> Modern attitude will  
remain ~~as~~ as it is for some months  
to come. But underneath there will  
be great changes & these will come to  
light during or before the next

struggle. Perhaps there will be another world war, & if that comes India will get her freedom surely. On even short of that, probably the eventual new constitution will be sufficiently distasteful, either on paper or in action, to Indian intelligenciers both modern & Hindu that they will balk again & then the present revolt will start.

---

Chinese n.v.s. has failed ~~and~~ is being abandoned by all her intelligenciers under the impact of Western civilization partly, I think, because the Chinese are not religious & have not developed so profound & complete a sentiment of n.v.s.

---

If the Council entry crew capture

the legislatures they can pass legislation  
ending untouchability in temples, &  
<sup>perhaps</sup> compel the government to yield  
those. That will be a real help.  
note that Pyarelal in his letter says that Datta now  
understands & does constructive work. That creates unity &  
understanding.

If my book takes well, get out  
one ~~edition~~ of compilation of all my  
India News Bulletins, as a history of  
the Indian campaign, with some  
addenda explaining further the  
movement

---

When people talk about their  
"feelings being hurt", it is really their  
ego which is hurt, almost always. The  
only lesson for that is to get an  
extending conception of a larger kind of Self.



A great deal of the West's so-called "mastery of nature's forces" is really motivated by weakness of control over the senses, i.e. by a desire for comfort and laziness. E.g. so much of the automatic stuff, the gadgets.

---

My U.V.R. book is aimed at the foundations of the whole ideology of compulsion, all along the line. If the philosophy of compulsion and violence can be undermined thoroughly, it will go for sure, because now its implications have been so strongly dramatized that people are afraid of it, see its absurdity and evil. They now will have a better substitute offered them.

---

In my book I say that militarists are sentimentalists because they do not follow their idea clear through to its

ultimate conclusions and implications.  
Yet I also say (~~if the HV is~~) that we  
cannot be absolutist. Am I not  
asking the militants to be absolutists  
when I make that demand on them?  
They might say that if the HV idea  
is carried out to its ultimate im-  
plications life would cease because  
we could not kill any plants or  
animals on which to live. But  
~~these~~ <sup>except a</sup> of X's doctrine of "gain of  
corn fall into the ground & die" etc.  
also of eating fruits & leaves & seeds  
without killing plants, and not  
killing animals for food at all.  
I doubt whether Western militants  
would see that ~~sort~~ implication  
anyhow. The answer probably is  
that militants were not anti-

mentalist, until modern weapons were  
invented. Before this their idea did not  
work out that way.

Re symbolism read Korzybski's  
2 pamphlets on time binding, also  
"Bentham's Theory of Fictions" by C. K.  
Ogden - Harcourt, 1933

While at Paddle Hill look up slope  
on habit, stimulus & response, & symbol-  
ism. Consider in this connection various  
looks on the dance, ~~the~~ Eurythmics, balance,  
etc & physical disciplines. Also mental  
disciplines of Kien Si, Catholic fathers,  
etc.



## Indian Newspapers

Hitavada - Nagpur  
Chronicle - Bombay  
Sender - Allahabad  
Tribune - Lahore  
Amrita Bazar Patrika - Calcutta  
Hindu - Madras  
Justice - Madras  
Free Press - Bombay

---

June 26 - The longer I think of  
history and civilisations and daily life  
& customs, the more I am that  
ideas and sentiments control all  
human association and its modes, &  
individual life patterns also. - My  
book is worth while.

July 1, 1934. Gandhiji's marching through villages is ~~undoubtedly~~ a fine thing, - & very deep. It conserves his strength, unifies him more closely with the poor & the peasants, gives him more knowledge of conditions, focuses the attention of his city followers more on the villages, ~~creates~~ creates more village leaders, strengthens the reform among the majority & the most conservative of the population (i.e. peasants). It makes the Br. think that Gandhiji is more foolish & less important than ever. Hence they will be more apt to loosen restrictions of all kinds, thus giving more chance for recovery of the Congress.

Our Bulletin ~~do not~~ ~~must~~, in order not to interfere with Gandhiji's program, must ~~have~~ lay less emphasis on G's

part in politics, & consider the progress of develop-  
ments in England, also the other aspects  
of Indian situation, - i.e., labor, etc.

---

Being unselfish is an assertion of  
human unity.

---

If I pray that God should take all  
I have done & will do as my gift, &  
that I do not want credit for it, &  
~~that~~ ~~the~~ declare that the only worth  
while part of it was done by God  
yesterday & not by me, I should go  
one step further & affirm that my  
consciousness of self - of ego - is  
a mistake, & wish to overcome that.

Yet I thank God that he lets me  
be conscious of the working of his  
spirit, & increasingly conscious.



As that consciousness increases, as  
 the sense of egoism decreases, the  
 power of the person increases because  
 he requires the power vested in  
 the human race as a whole, & the  
 power vested in God. Acquiring  
 such consciousness seems to make  
 things happen without the ego  
 sweating so hard. But perhaps the increase of that  
 kind of consciousness leads to  
 ceaseless activity of yet.

---

On the occasion when Gandhi  
 has seemingly condoned or urged  
 violence it was not because he  
 believed that in certain situations  
 violence is the only method that  
 can gain results, but because in  
 those situations he believed that  
 violence and cowardice were the only  
 alternatives, and violence is the better of those  
 two.

Give Puddle Hill Library a copy  
of my Gaullism or Socialism

There is the consciousness of events in time  
a space and the consciousness of timeless  
relations and conditions. Some correspondence  
between them.

---

Capitalism is not an affair of exterior  
organization. It is a system of values,  
an organization of <sup>together w. a mistaken set of symbols.</sup> sentiments. The  
sentiments which are harmful in it  
should be spotted, examined and  
expelled ~~by means of~~ and replaced by  
other finer sentiments, & then the  
whole system reorganized. The reform  
of capitalism must begin from  
within.

If a kind of intuition has it, I am that,  
 then it is my business to become more aware  
 of that, to express it more clearly, fully &  
 deeply, to rouse it in others, to stimulate it  
 in myself, to think of it, to let my imagination  
~~play~~ dwell upon it & its expression,  
 to live it, to become it, to make it real to  
 the sense of man, that is, to express it in  
action & speech & posture.

The talker talker of the middle class  
 helps slowly to give consciousness to the  
 masses. But deeds are much more powerful  
 because the exercise of power is the strongest  
 stimulus to consciousness. So a middle  
 class leader who stimulates the masses to  
 successful or partly successful action on  
 their own behalf is a great mover of popular  
 thought & will.



✓ In last ch. of UVR book would  
that leaders should remember that in  
any group struggle it is more  
important that the method should  
be thoroughly learned & adhered to  
than to attain any particular end.  
For if the method is once mastered  
the people can attain any end  
they desire provided it is  
consonant with social & econ. truths.  
But if ~~the method~~ violence is used  
in attaining the end the end  
is tainted w. violence & will  
make trouble for its possessors &  
all concerned.

---

July 16. The Harijan reform movement in  
India will steadily gather strength  
because an awareness of unity after a

preceding awareness of diversity gives a great access of energy. Hence it will gather momentum. That is a hopeful feature of all reform movements. That is why we may be optimistic of human advance through the ages. Gandhi was able himself to give this movement so great an impetus because he himself has realized unity so strongly, that he compels its recognition in others.

---

Is fasting for spiritual ends an assertion of human unity? I think so, when undertaken rightly. It is a reliance on inner strength as opposed to material things (such as food), a ~~looking~~ purging from within, a searching for inner truth, a symbol of dropping reliance on ~~outer~~ ~~these~~ supports, even food, until inner support comes or in order to find inner

supplier of strength and truth and guidance. It is an assertion that spirit is stronger and more important than matter. The inner spirit is the essence of every human being and hence assertion of the supremacy of spirit is an assertion of human unity. This is especially true if the fact is like Baylis', undertaking to bring about a reform in human relationships.

Try to understand more about the significance of fasting for spiritual or ethical purposes.

July 16. I doubt whether Baylis will immediately, in mid August when his time with Govt is over, engage in individual civil disobedience. He has said



that Satyagraha is much more than C.D.  
 but also that true & complete Satyagraha  
 must be undertaken now. The perfecting of  
 Harijan reform is certainly Satyagraha, as  
 would also be the other reforms and guide-  
 ance of public thinking that he would be  
 able to do outside jail. Of course some  
 might say that Jawaharlal & Abdul  
 Gaffar Khan are stronger patriots & more  
 unselfish than Bapu because they are  
 in jail & he is not. But A.G. Khan is  
 a special instance of Govt. undictiveness  
 and Jawaharlal got put in because of  
 his severe criticisms of Govt, not  
 because he was doing something so  
 constructive for Indian people at the  
 moment.

Bapu fast of a week, to begin Aug 7, because  
 of his followers' violence toward a

I maintain, will solve the reform  
movement and purify and energize it.  
It may be a sort of curtain raiser to  
an act of individual C.D. on Baper's  
part, to be followed by a long jail  
sentence. But that does not fit in  
with what D. Graham said about  
Baper's starting a network of new organ-  
izations throughout the country, free  
from Congress entanglements.

The Congress action May 18 is only  
a suspension of C.D., not an  
abandonment of it. Govt clearly  
wanted an excuse to drop its expensive  
punitive measures & probably think  
that Baper is an old & worn out man  
& that his taking to foot pilgrimages  
is evidence of loss of prestige. So  
they think they can take the side

and drop the ban on Congress.

But I think that Congress will win the elections & then the impasse between it & Govt on the so-called "constitutional" level will be strong & clear enough to make Congressmen realize faster than in 1924-29 that constitutional entry is futile. Under Byrnes leadership & by his methods Indians have tasted power. ∴ they will not forget that method, but will try it again & again. Perhaps with the end on the Congress ban, my book can be published in India and really be useful there.

---

Perhaps the reason why colds "run through" families is because they have all been eating the same food. That would apply broadly to communities too.



There is nothing namely, namely about  
goodness if you discipline it, use it  
consequently for good of all, & ~~have~~ mix it w.  
evil, & base it on an adequate philosophy.

✓ Another reason why the violent assailant  
is ~~confused~~ <sup>at a disadvantage</sup> in ~~the~~ a struggle w. a w. is  
that he realizes he made a mistake at  
first in thinking that this man was a  
coward. He is then afraid that he may  
have made or may make some other  
mistake. He realizes also that the outlookers  
see that he made a mistake & so don't  
think he is supremely intelligent. That  
∴ he has lost a little prestige.

✓ <sup>in each part</sup>  
~~Change~~ Cut out part of long  
foot note & Bentley note, change  
portion of p. 11 & 12 into letter;

insert the above.

Sublimation is ~~a gain in energy~~ and not a mere expression or redirection of energy but a gain in energy because it includes some <sup>the energy</sup> ~~intangibles~~ <sup>some</sup> higher virtues not included in the original set up.

Among the capitalists there is wide and clear understanding and conviction as to the value of military discipline, and lots of them take a period of such discipline themselves in military encampments and volunteer militia. There should be a similar understanding among all kinds of reformers and revolutionists in regard to the importance of <sup>m.v.</sup> discipline ~~in~~ and some of them should take definite periods of training in it.

1  
It is important to think of the other fellow first, to be "unselfish", not because he is more important than I, but because to do so increases ~~among~~ <sup>the</sup> human beings the sense of human unity. It gives <sup>that answer to</sup> the other fellow, and <sup>to</sup> me too, and ~~there~~ to those who may see a lesson of the act.

---

I refer as courage is due to a clear idea of what to do and why that method works, my book will greatly aid in creating courage among non-violent workers. My book will also tend to lower the courage and hence morale, by proving that the Indian method is sounder and finer.

---

Probably much of the present emotional depression in India is the reaction of



depression following among <sup>the Indian</sup> intelligentsia.

Perhaps the increase in the host of a sense of unity, caused by progress of transportation and of communications, together with the sufferings of the depression, may have prepared people's minds for my book.

~~Have the Associated Press~~

get from the Associated Press the name & address of its ~~Indian~~ correspondent in India, and send him a copy of my book.

If a person is in right relations with his inner self (Atman) he finds himself in right relation with all other people and with the exterior world.

For a possible future edition of my  
H.V.R. book I should study more  
carefully the problems of police  
organization, training & psychology  
while at Pandle Hill look this up.

---

In the Class Struggle Club meet  
that the highly mechanical armies  
of the near future will be much  
smaller than in the past, & composed  
of more carefully selected more tech-  
nically trained & skilled men; & i.  
the Communist idea of winning the  
war by a melting of its members,  
- ~~men~~ who are working class men  
previously converted to Communism  
& armed by the capitalists for  
the next war - is not likely or  
very difficult of consummation

The Negro National Anthem - "Lift Every <sup>Weldon</sup> Voice and Sing" - words by James ~~Weldon~~ Johnson, music by J. Rosamond Johnson. Arranged in either 3 part choral, quartette, or vocal orchestration. ~~Edward~~ Edward B. Markes Music Co., 225 West 46 St., New York City.

People at Friends Service Camp, Mt. Pleasant, Pa., William J. Young & Milled B. Young, Pa. Shoemaker, Mr. Mullen (the organizer of "Muller's Jamboree"), the North Carolina Indian minister, etc.

~~As~~ It is B. Shoemaker reported that he had heard that when the French army failed against the new tactics of the



German miners in the Ruhr, a number of French officers committed suicide.

William Young pointed out that in a violent struggle, not only do the 2 parties agree as to the method to be used, but both immediately forget all about the purpose for which the struggle was started & concentrate entirely on ~~the~~ winning the fight.

---

Anger is felt, perhaps, only toward a living creature or man-made force or situation. Differs from fear in this respect. We are very fear lightning or a tornado or earthquake, but are not angry toward merely a strong wind that opposes us. But young. Get angry at branches that catch in our clothing.

Perhaps middle class people may fall especially for my book because it shows them a way out of the impasse between capital & labor, points to a way they can help to create a finer world, shows how they can get free from the domination of the capitalists, how to end war, how to attain physical security, gives a place for action, prevents a sense of frustration, futility and cynicism.

The M.V. seeker has and expresses a profounder self-confidence and courage than his <sup>v</sup>opponents, a confidence in the Self in all creatures.

He who relies on and lives in the inner spirit need not plan too much ahead in relation to human relationships, for he has all the spontaneity, wisdom and

vision of God at hand. Of Christ's words to  
his disciples as the Holy Ghost guiding their  
speech.

---

Important pages in Sir<sup>William</sup> Martin Con-  
way's "The Crowd in Peace and War": - 8, 9, 21,  
motives for n.v. crowd, 27, (34), (36), (44), 50,  
62, (63), 67, 73, 74, 75, 79, 84 re conversion of  
crowd, 85, 97, 128, 130, 134, 144, 177, 178, 181,  
220, 223, 233, 237, 254, 265, 268, 269, 273,  
274, 278, 282, 286, 323, 326, 327.

---

The present system uses covert violence  
(i.e. pressure) on people. What shall I  
do about that? Refuse to accept the  
evil values inherent in capitalism, viz.  
(1) money, (2) competition, (3) outer violence,  
(4) flattery, prestige & social grades (division as  
opposed to social unity). Encourage better,



and hard labor.

neighborhood and community ~~and~~ mutual aid. These latter encourage real trust instead of money symbols, and also encourage small scale organization and social unity.

Competition is a denial of human unity.

N. V. R. will break up these outer groups of capitalism and also many of its inner elements. Hard labor will encourage Swedish & small-scale organization.

---

Work this up into a pamphlet while I am at Pendle Hill.

Work out how the method (N.V.R.) is more important and surer to bring sound results than an a-priori plan à la Socialism. Will succeed in the end. ∴ the fact that the Fellowship

of Reconciliation does not as a body  
adhere to any one plan of future  
social structure does not make it  
futile.

Immense increases in a country's  
population do not put pressure on  
boundaries for emigration and so cause  
war, but create such inner strains  
that the rulers go to war in order to  
divert attention and avoid revolution.

—  
a middle class person should  
Work out what position <sup>to</sup> take,  
and what to do in a time of violent  
conflict between employers & employees,  
in the light of Gandhi's justification  
of violence rather than cowardice.

—  
The smoothness, quietness, ~~and~~ ease

& self-confidence with which troops  
 move into action is very impressive on a  
 crowd. That comes from months of  
 steady regular drill in the elements  
 which go to make up mass action.  
 Such a contrast to the hesitancy, un-  
 certainty, noise, relative disorder &  
 confusion, & lack of self confidence among  
 strikers. We must learn the former.  
 We must direct the entire action of  
 each type of refusal into its elements  
 of action and inaction, and then drill  
 on those so that each one knows  
 what to do and does it as a matter  
 of habit and routine, without  
 leaders, so far as possible. In a  
 mass refusal is simpler than yes-  
 action, but it involves much  
 more inner work, as William



James has pointed out. Because it  
requires a lot more discrimination &  
often more courage.

Note how the I.W.W. treated  
President Wilson to 5 blocks of  
absolutely silent men ~~as a parade~~  
watching the ~~can~~<sup>car</sup> in which  
Wilson was driven in a parade, and  
shook him so that he felt compelled  
to receive their petition which  
previously he or others on his behalf  
had refused to receive.

The footnote 5 of Ch. IV of my book,  
query a validity of rejection of emotions  
in the light of Holt's Theory of  
discrimination (E. B. Holt's Teaching  
with) This fits with Gestalt idea, a larger  
unity & new balance within that

Perhaps insert a footnote quotation from Gandhi's Letter to Nehru, re the superior importance of Satyagraha method over rigid & repeated insistence on the aim & eventual structure of society. —

Perhaps insert in either the ec. days or in the passage on suffering or in the one on love, that justice is less important than love, as an immediate objective. "Seek ye first the K & G. and all these things shall be added unto you". Cf. Corinthians XIII.

Justice does flow out of love, but love does not necessarily issue from justice. Justice is too authoritarian, too quantitative.

Money, by making it possible to accomplish things at a great distance (power), introduces a risk of ignorance of conditions and of results, and irresponsibility. When you add to this the stimulus to selfishness caused by its incorrect symbolism etc., the disadvantages outweigh its advantages, the evil outweighs the good. But since this kind of ignorance might be partly eliminated from Socialist large-scale organization, that sort of large-scale organization might be less harmful than capitalist large-scale organization.

Re F.O.N., the middle class must get away from some of their love of comfort, of position, and get



new ideas of what constitutes <sup>true</sup> equality,  
position, & other values.

The working class will gladly  
learn and use U.V.A. because it is  
a strong and effective assertion of  
the dignity and importance of human  
personality. They have suffered most  
from indignities, humiliations and  
inults.

We must be simple to the point  
of asceticism so as not to support  
covert violence, so as not to make  
our non-violence merely an outward  
affair of external action, meanwhile  
condoning the covert violence of  
capitalism. But it is not so covert  
as ~~treacherous~~ seems to think.

In class was class, might add  
the reasoning that the method of NVK  
is more important than the question of  
the future structure of society.  
Add G's letter to return to this. Add  
what should a middle class person do  
in the <sup>early</sup> case of violence in the  
class struggle, in the light of G's  
principles re violence vs concision.  
What for an outsider to do, what for  
a worker to do. Summarize Richman's  
points. Essentially he does not  
believe that NVK is or can be  
powerful enough to cope with  
capitalism.

---

Since the ego is an illusion  
caused by the senses, a false sense  
of separateness, it is silly to be proud

or vain of "my" accomplishments and deeds. Whatever of spiritual truth and good is in them is God's doing, not "mine".  $\therefore$  strive to get ~~some~~ rid of the sense of separation & attain a sense of unity with all mankind and with God.

Appropos of the Saneist saying that magic powers come not to him who does difficult things but only to him who does things with a pure heart, one reason for this is that purity = singleness of purpose or motive. True singleness can be only when the direction is Godward, because anything that is not Godward and God-inspired is separate and split and ego-ized &



selfish & torn in many directions.  
God is the only all-inclusive unity.  
Only the supreme unity can give  
one-pointedness or unity. And  
importunate search for God & only  
for God results in acquiring  
~~some part of divine power~~ spiritual  
power, for in order truly to seek &  
realize God we have to become in  
increasing degree like God. So the  
"magic" powers come.

---

Look up the details of the process  
of sublimation and of disavowal  
(of affects from the intellectual part) of  
complexes.

---

"Conversion, Christian & Non-Christian"  
by G. C. Underwood, Macmillan,

Aug. 1925. is fairly good.

Reconcile = to be changed throughout  
 Matt 5:23. dialasso = dia + ~~la~~ ~~ss~~ ~~so~~  
~~la~~ ~~ss~~ ~~so~~ = to change. Dia implies  
 idea of mutuality. ∴ change from  
 mutual dislike to mutual friendship.  
 Dia also = throughout, right through,  
 all through, out and out, thoroughly,  
 also mutually. ~~la~~ ~~ss~~ ~~so~~ = to  
 change, to alter, to make over.

"Rest Working" by Gerald Stanley  
 See. Publ. by the Coordination Guild,  
 Northampton, Mass. 1925. J. J. Wells  
 & Sons Co., printers, N.Y.C.

Gardner high humor at Delhi  
 last winter was probably because he

had found the peasants so sound,  
still so devoted, ready for further  
sacrifice, & the workers coming  
along, & the reform really gaining  
marked headway.

The Haryan movement is bound  
to gain momentum & speed because  
it is an instance of a great <sup>& strong</sup> reversion  
of unity after a strong reversion of  
diversity. Boole's psychological  
principle.

The success of the Haryan  
movement will ~~not~~ <sup>only be</sup> control by  
playing on social distinctions, &  
thus weaken the power in India  
till further.

Use the imagination for self.



realization or seeing the K. 19.

Capitalism is in part a <sup>psychological</sup> repression of decent tendencies by its ~~its~~ emphasis on & use of divisive forces, & instruments & symbols & concepts. If it is a repression, a clear analysis of it & recognition of these elements & that it is a repression should yield a release much as psycho-analysis is said to release one from other repressions. Also if it is a repression, it yields ~~some~~ bad symptoms & inversions & troubles similar to other repressions. Dissemination & choice of something better is required.

N.V.R. analyze the repression and try to draw complete its recognition.

A U.V.N. being a clutter-bearer  
in a labor conflict is no real good.

If life slows up entropy and  
interferes with the 2d law of  
thermodynamics, then a life-promot-  
ing and life-enriching principle like  
U.V.N. is immensely powerful &  
important. — But this in biological chaps.

Euro-American culture is such  
a mixture of Hebrew, Greek, &  
Roman & Germanic elements that  
it is full of deep inconsistencies.  
~~It is splitting up.~~  
~~It has lost~~ These elements  
were not ever profoundly re-  
thought as were those of India,  
which also had many elements  
in its population. ~~They~~ Therefore

Europe, under strain, is splitting up.

---

"What the English say is one thing,  
what they do is another" - Andre  
Siegfried.

---

"Pays" by Friedrich Heiler. trans.  
by S. the Comb. Oxford Press

"Christ in the Silence" by C.F. Andrews,  
Abingdon Press - by C.

---

The machine has dramatized & <sup>probably</sup> done much to smother violence  
(warfare), <sup>& weakened</sup> capitulation, & its subtending  
interest on details and perhaps left  
itself.

---

"Mahatma Gandhi's Philoso-  
phy of Truth" - by Venise Edwin  
Modern Reviews. Aug. Sept. Oct. 1933.



Middle Class people do not like to  
step down economically & socially  
partly out of pride, partly out of  
desire for what they consider is  
security, & partly because their present  
position gives them a <sup>richer</sup> sense of rightful  
dignity & freedom. That sense is the  
rightful due of every human being as  
a child of God. But if by a change  
of values & inner attitude one can  
~~find~~ get rid of pride, find his security  
in God and his dignity & freedom  
in service of man & non-violence, then  
one may give up certain economic  
freedom and be subject to certain  
kinds of actions formerly considered  
indignities without being troubled  
thereby. E.g. "Stone walls do not  
a prison make, etc."

Perhaps the 1933-34 working time in Br. public life is due to a repressed conflict in India and between the empire complex and better complexes.

His Mayo's books coincided with the Br. attack on <sup>the</sup> Hindus group, & i. helped probably to unite the Hindus & Christians help toward the Hainjin movement. An opening wedge for Bapin's ~~earlier~~ ideas which he had long ago proposed. A case of God ~~to~~ using evil to bring about good.

Money, like mathematical symbols under certain assumptions, has developed a set of laws and modes of working, all of its own.

1  
(i.e. thanking God that the desired  
thing had come or desired event occurred)  
Jesus' way of prayer, stimulates  
the imagination & assumes that we  
each one possess the creative power  
within us to bring the desired things  
to pass.

"Character is an enduring psycholog-  
ical disposition to inhibit instinctive  
impulses in accordance with a  
regulative principle" - Dr. A. A.  
Nobels - "The Psychology of Char-  
acter" - Harcourt, N.Y. 1928.

Not seeking the fruit of works results  
in absence of bitterness for failure,  
and absence of boastfulness or cockiness  
over success. Also makes humility  
easy. Working for the right and  
truth is all that matters. It creates



neither any inferiority complex nor  
superiority complex.

Most of Gandhi's asceticism is  
to not take the benefit of capitalism  
& to make him & his followers fit  
for the most intense n.v.r.

The extensive moral evil in the  
world is a part of the development of  
higher relationships, <sup>(i.e. the ~~evolution~~ <sup>evolution</sup>)</sup> just as more and  
more complex chemical and organic  
relationships have gradually evolved  
through time. Therefore, to bear with  
them age after age and steadily press  
for sounder relationships is sound.  
Do not be discouraged by any seeming  
failures. If common unity is the  
great truth and humanity is one, then

separate groups and individuals may  
fail without the loss of the whole.

Under N.V.R. there can be no  
dictatorships by either capital or  
labor or any other group. It gives  
real democratic freedom. If democ-  
racy has failed, it may be revived  
by N.V.R.

I cannot lose anything (& hence will  
not get either angry or frightened) if  
I have not lost already my own  
connection with unity & God, &  
lost courage & resolution & will to  
live in action the implications of  
unity & the R of G.

Structure ~~is a function of~~ depends upon  
 & is determined by ~~the~~ function, and function  
 depends partly upon what ideal end is  
 desired but (cf. to Holt & Goulden) still  
 more upon the character & quality of  
 the wish and the wishers. The  
 character of the wish and the wishers  
 determines the nature of the methods  
 used. So although the picture of  
 the desired structure of society (e.g.  
 Socialism) is very useful as a symbol  
 and as a means of focussing men's  
 imaginations, emotions and will,  
 nevertheless the choice of <sup>the</sup> method of  
 reaching that goal is fully as  
 important. Only a very few people  
 can construct a picture of the  
 desired organization of society & do  
 the necessary propaganda for it. But

cf. p. 194



in the method to be used in reaching  
the end, all can & should take  
part in it. ~~These~~ Also, if the  
method is powerful, <sup>as well as</sup> sound, the  
people can amend the end when  
attained, if it is found desirable.  
Hence, the choice of method is  
even more important than the  
~~choice of~~ ~~view~~ <sup>only</sup> picture of the final  
structure. If you have an utopian  
ideal, ever so beautiful, worked out to the  
finest detail, it is impotent, whereas  
if you have an effective method of  
work, you can reach a better structure  
& state of society by ~~small~~ trial &  
error. It may take longer without the  
vision in advance, but it will be  
attained sooner or later, surely.

Review of "Problems of a Socialist Goal" by  
 Sir Stafford Cripps et al, in New Statesman &  
 Nation, Sept 9, 1933.

"It is an extraordinary fact - and it shows  
 how far the collapse of civilisation has already  
 gone - that, although the capitalist system  
 has obviously broken down from its own  
 inherent defects, and Socialism is the only  
 permanent solution of the world's economic  
 distresses, Socialists have been unable to  
 take advantage of this immense opportunity.  
 Instead of their being able to convince people  
 of what is a staring truth, they have never  
 been more weak and broken since the publica-  
 tion of the Communist Manifesto."

The fact that each person seems to  
 himself to be the centre of the universe may be  
 a sort of inversion of a spiritual omniscience &

omnipresence. Would that not be the natural result of a divine presence ~~uncommon~~ <sup>in</sup> in such person?

Following a great person's example is showing that you understand the language of deeds. Do not talk or preach mostly with words. Do not explain too much with words. Act. ∴ Do not try to gain disciples. Let them come who understand, who have something within which responds. "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." The translation of acts into words is not complete translation; it is turning reality into partly empty and ambiguous symbols - a partial world. Just as some poetry cannot be translated from one language to another, so acts cannot be fully



explained by words.

Real leadership grows out of action, not  
talk.

Working without attachment to the fruit  
of work results in not becoming humiliated  
or bitter if success does not arrive, or being uncon-  
cerned if success does. One becomes insensitive to  
ridicule or abuse or praise or flattery. It  
simplifies problems, reduces the number of  
choices, simplifies, purifies and strengthens  
the will. Gives serenity, calm, poise.  
Prevents inferiority & superiority complexes.  
Relieves of fear & of disappointment.

Miss Amy Tuxton, Exemo Franciscano,  
Trevi, Umbria, Italy.

Since reliance on one appeal tends to selfishness & hence to fear, Gandhi's opposition to ~~ex~~ pleasure is understandable in relation to Satyagraha.

One of St. Francis' disciples said that we should not merely renounce property, we should forget it. One would thought I don't see for that. It is dodging a responsibility & putting it onto others.

---

When the pressure against England caused by the N.C.O. Indian movement is relaxed, & also the pressure we owe debts to U.S.A. I expect to see considerable party disorganization in England, perhaps enough to alter radically the White Paper proposals. [This note was written

in July 1933)

Of the different senses, sight, hearing & smell are social, - many people can see & hear the same thing at the same time. Taste is less so. Touch still less. Sex feeling as a specialized form of Touch is least social of all, in this sense. It is confined to one object at a time which cannot be shared at the same time beyond the two engaged in it. Kinesthetic sense and balance are still more individual <sup>even</sup>. The last two are <sup>even</sup> incapable ~~of~~ of anti-social use.

"The Art of  
Mental Prayer" by <sup>Rev.</sup> Bede Foss.

Moulhouse Publ. Co. 1801 West Fond du Lac Ave.  
Milwaukee, \$2.00 Describes several methods of  
Prayer, - Ignatian, Franciscan, Carmelite, Salesian,  
Siganorian, Oration.



"Great Companions" by Robert F. Seaverns (1/12.50)

"Mixed Postures" Evelyn Underhill,  
Songman Press.  
Introduction to Yoga. Claude Braydon.  
Knopf. \$1.50

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day  
Saints. 316 West 57 St. N.Y.C.

Evelyn Underhill - "the need of placing  
before our inner ~~eye~~ vision a clear  
picture of what we want to achieve. This  
imagined end acts as a magnet,  
drawing and unifying our will, energy  
and desire." of p. 187 above

Conversion is a crisis of choice, a  
reversal of judgment, a change of  
direction

Do you will the end if you do not  
will the ~~peace~~<sup>2</sup> means? (a peace)

---

N.Y.R. takes the poison out of power by  
making power act on vol. suffering.

Humility requires courage.

You must be trained in order to exercise  
power wisely.

The ex. act is an expression of power.

∴ It requires restraint & responsibility.

---

Re Machinery.

Manufacturers, under pressure to sell more of  
their products (caused by great inconveniences  
in productivity of machines and great increases  
in investment in machinery on which they  
must pay interest, insurance, depreciation,  
obsolescence, repairs, etc.) have invaded  
the fields of marketing and distribution.

They have, by competition between places,  
caused much waste by cross-hauls, and  
much reduplication of selling agencies, ads,  
etc., - thus adding to the total costs of the  
consumer. The manufacturers' share of the  
increase in distributing and merchandizing  
costs is greater than that of the middlemen.  
Because each handler of the goods marks up  
the price, the (increase of) costs at the early  
stages become pyramided. The result  
is, as Ralph Borsodi so conclusively proves  
in his book, "The Distribution Age" (Appleton,  
1929) "that what we are saving through  
the lower costs of modern methods of  
production, we are losing through the  
higher costs of modern methods of dis-  
tribution" . . . "When we buy  
anything today we are paying pro-  
portionally much more for distribution



and much less for production than we were fifty years ago".

all this is inherent in the combination of machinery with the profit money system. So even Francis's faith in machinery is illusory. The improvement in machine technique is itself responsible for the changes, even more than capitalization.

Under barter there is no danger of a variable unit of value.

All units of measure are referred to something which is measurable and which is as stable as is possible to find. E.g. length is now measured in terms of the wave length of light, tho it formerly was measured in terms of an arc of the earth's surface, and before that, against a metal rod.

In the same way, measures of value must be in terms of some stable value. A composite statistical unit made up of prices of many commodities is now more stable than gold, or at least less subject to manipulation by any one group of men. Comparison with such a composite is really a reference to the strength of men's desires for those necessities.

What are necessities varies gradually with development of any culture, but is a fairly slow-moving thing. Probably there is no external ~~thing~~ material which is desired with unvarying intensity & uniformity. Is gold as near to it as anything else? Or is the present period of rapid change of values upsetting the former valuation of gold too? I mean more than money money valuation.

~~Sublimation~~ Symbolism, says Jung "is a process of comprehension by means of analogy".

I instead of free association being used to spot and bring the complex to the consciousness, perhaps Satyagraha in all its aspects may accomplish a dissociation of affects from old ideas and intellectual parts of complexes to new complexes and ideas. Most of this would take place in the subconsciousness, only the result coming to consciousness.

Satyagraha is also an instrument for sublimating the motives and affects of the opponent. Look up the details and causes of sublimation and dissociation in Freud.

In Greek tragedy someone always suffers



for someone else. "Tragedy implies the contemplation, not of mere suffering or disaster, but of the triumph of the human soul over suffering and disaster." - Gilbert Murray in "The Classical Tradition in Poetry", p. 66. "Catharsis - the power of standing outside ourselves or outside this <sup>immediate</sup> material present which is our prison, - is the essential quality of drama." Ibid. p. 78.

For discussions of love see St. Augustine (intellectual), St. Bernard (mystical), St. Francis (practical). Also St. Thomas Aquinas, Dante, St. John of the Cross, St. Francis de Sales, St. Jeanne Chantal. See also "St. Francis of Assisi" by Peter Elvin. Christian Literature Society for India, - Madras 1933. 1 copy.

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Dear Mother:

After you have read this will you please show it to F & F and  
+ Barbara and ask them then to send it to Mary. I'm sending  
a copy to Jim + Elsie + out to Alon. My address till the 10<sup>th</sup> will be  
40 Island Oaks, 511 N. Maria St., Chicago. y<sup>h</sup> Richard

This was written when Richard was 39.  
He landed in India when he was 40.  
He lived to be nearly 89.

Madison, Wisconsin,  
October 4, 1924.

Dear Family:

All last winter and during the spring and summer on the farm I have been considering whether farming is to be my job permanently and where I shall settle down to live. Since the decision I have reached is somewhat out of the ordinary and may seem to you unnecessary or mistaken, I want to write you a fairly full explanation, though I can't put it all down here. Perhaps that will help you to understand, even if you don't agree with me.

What I do is of no great importance - probably not enough to call for this long letter. Yet as it means a good deal to me, I wish more people could agree than will do so. And if though understanding in part now, some of you will come to agree a little, I would be glad.

Before going further, let me say that I agree with Don that most of our motives and actions are instinctive and irrational and that the reasons we give for them are largely mere attempts to rationalize something deeper. Nevertheless, we seem to have to rationalize and have beliefs and convictions that can be stated in terms of the head as well as of the heart. I suppose that helps us to make adjustments and steady us. Perhaps part of my program is by way of compensation for some of the things I have missed, but it's not altogether so, I'm sure.

I am going to continue farming and do some community work and try, if possible, also to spread a few of my ideas by writing articles or perhaps a little teaching. For the place to settle in I have decided on India, not as a missionary, but with an entirely different attitude and purpose, as you will see.

In making my choice I tried to follow some of the guides that seem worth while for anyone making a choice of occupation and dwelling place. As to job, select one whose daily routine is in itself interesting and pleasure-giving to you. That means one which enables you to use and develop a considerable number of your aptitudes, faculties and tastes, both natural and acquired. Pick a job in which the purpose



~~formation~~<sup>function</sup> or result of the work as a whole is interesting to yourself and valuable to the community. Perhaps this is a variation of the idea of duty. Choose a job in which you can employ or "capitalize" as much as possible of your previous training and experience. Choose a job that is in harmony with your most important beliefs and convictions; one which will give you a distinct sense of being useful to other people; one that is healthy and one in which you can continue into old age. For a place, go where the institutions, customs, habits, beliefs and feeling-tones of the people coincide as nearly as possible with those that you care for or want to acquire. Life in such a community makes real freedom of opinion, discussion and action possible and permits you to be much more serviceable than you could be otherwise. Life is so much made up of human contacts that you want to choose a community where those contacts will be of a frequency and quality and number that are harmonious with you. Secondarily, choose a place whose physical environment of climate, scenery and food are what you like.

My attitude and beliefs and some of my tastes have changed considerably since college days. I hope they will always grow. I want to live an interesting life with some real risks and adventure and pioneering in it. I want to live very simply and as naturally as possible. I want to have a job much bigger than myself, which I can thoroughly believe in and into which I can throw myself without any reservations. I believe in and want to live my religion and I want to be with people to whom religion is a living reality and not convention or Sunday formality.

My economic and social experience and thinking play a considerable part in my decision to go to India, so I'll just review a bit of it here.

While in Cambridge I studied law and a little history, economics and government. I taught government. In my three years of law practice I did the legal work of organizing and re-organizing several large corporations and saw much of how law, business and finance work, and some of their results on people. Then I had seven years of labor problems, working for individual employers, for employers' associations, for joint organizations of employers and unions, for unions, for federations of unions, and for the United States government. I acted as investigator, advisor, brief writer, counsel or advocate, employment manager, administrator of policies and of awards of arbitration boards, as negotiator, statistician, publicity man. I've helped with settling strikes; I've worked to make strikes effective; I've opposed strikes. I've been through little strikes and big ones, some that lasted a few hours and some that lasted many months. I've dealt with the problems in a





shop employing not over a dozen men and in an industry employing a million and a quarter men. My clients varied from one man to the railroad shop employees federation made up of 300,000 men, and the United States government in the war. I've worked and lived with the problem in over twenty industries including textiles, clothing manufacture, tanning, street car transportation, iron and steel manufacture, coal mining, railroads and shipping. I got a fair idea of how machine industry works, how it affects the people engaged in it and some of the total results. As to interpretations we will probably have to agree to disagree. All that time I was reading all I could lay my hands on, piling up and comparing facts and opinions of every shade and kind, and thinking all the while. It is an experience that not so very many men have had. It makes a fairly intricate mixture, together with my previous and subsequent work. The resulting feelings and beliefs may be warped or prejudiced, but that doesn't bother me, for as William James says: "Anyone who pretends to be neutral writes himself down here as a fool and a sham." My ideas may be mistaken, but they are not based on wholly inadequate foundation. To show you another part of the foundation, I'll add to this letter a list of some of the books that have influenced me most.

Perhaps the main beliefs which shove me to India are as follows:

I'm opposed to our government and to most existing governments. Government is founded on and exists by violence. As George Washington said, "Government is force." The sanctions of its courts are police, jails and army. Over 90% of its expenditures are for war (interest on debts of past wars, existing wars, a large navy and army, and vast preparations for future wars). Its legislators, judges and administrators are frequently corrupt and usually stupid and ignorant of the real meaning of their problems and results of their actions - (even more so than most men). The utterances of its executives are usually falsehoods, white, black and intermediate shades. Its history is one of greed and much oppression of under dogs. Through the medium of the courts, police, army, taxes and public debt it is a means whereby the great financiers obtain enormous revenues in return for very slender benefits. Its purpose and activities are preponderantly contrary to the physical, mental and moral welfare of the people and to the teachings of Christ or any other great spiritual or moral leader.

I'm against machine industry and commercialism. I'm against newspapers, movies, phonographs and radio, and the increasing passivity and standardization of knowledge, thought and feeling they create. I'm against war. I'm opposed to the





legal profession. I don't believe in the germ causation theory of disease and in most modern medicine based on it. I think cities and city life are more harmful than good. The increasing rush of living brings more evil than good. I'm opposed to capitalism and banking credit control of industry. I think most American foods and cooking are the cause of tremendous physical deterioration. I'm opposed to the prevalent habit of valuing most things in terms of quantities, acceleration, ("the biggest ~~not~~ so," "the fastest this and that") or money, instead of in terms of quality, beauty, conformity with nature, or religion. The prevalent intolerance and social and class distinctions are exceedingly distasteful.

Doubtless this sounds like "anti-everything" or trying to set the clock back. Perhaps it looks ridiculous. But I think Western civilization has made many enormous mistakes and is travelling down hill pretty fast. The origins of the trail are many and go back several hundred years, but "by their fruits ye shall know them." I don't consider myself a pessimist, because I have all sorts of faith in human nature and individual people and I love them; but I do believe that a lot of our institutions are bad group habits and can't help working out harmfully, just as personal bad habits or motives do. Nobody accuses you of being a pessimist if you think heavy drinking is a pernicious habit, even though multitudes of people are heavy drinkers. Nor am I a pessimist because I disbelieve, for instance, in the institution of capitalism.

And by the way, I'm not a socialist, or communist à la Russe, either; though both those doctrines have been mighty useful in making all sorts of people think deeper and realize the existence of much evil in our customs and institutions. I don't believe that in most instances the big financiers and business men consciously conspire or intend to injure the working classes. But the financial and commercial and industrial systems that they devote themselves to cannot do otherwise than injure the body, mind and soul of themselves and of the working classes. Banker, employer and employee are all caught in the same meshes and all suffer from it; and yet practically all believe in it. Trade unions accomplish but little for they simply work within the frame of the existing order, not attempting to change it but merely to get a fairer division of the profits. In Europe they are a bit more disillusioned. A real transvaluation of values is needed.

You see these beliefs don't fit into modern America. They don't all fit into any place, but I think more of them fit into India than into any other country. India has an old culture and set of traditions founded on a different set of institutions and a different conception of life. Most of the people live in



villages and by agriculture. Their present government is alien and therefore is not such an intimate part of the texture of their beliefs as with us. They value life and things more in terms of qualities and nature and religion than in terms of quantities, science or money. They are undertaking their reforms more earnestly, humbly and altruistically than we are. Their art is as fine as ours and much sounder because mostly a part of the daily lives of the people. (i.e. it is still largely a part of handicrafts.) The "standard of living" is low, - far too low to be healthy, - but in conjunction with their religion it has created a simplicity of living and an appreciation of essentials and a personal discipline that is far more hopeful as a foundation for the future than is the corresponding state of affairs here. They may be ignorant of many things and illiterate, but their intuition is far clearer and truer than ours, and the resulting civilization has shown a stability not yet matched by ours, nor likely to be. Gandhiji's teachings of non-violent, non-cooperation, truth and love and the tremendous following he has attained are signs of a culture that seems to me far more sincere and sound than ours. Of course, much of Western civilization has permeated India and put the upshot of affairs in the balance. While many of these things are true of China also, I prefer India because I see there a conscious and intelligent opposition to Western institutions and a spiritual insight that will perhaps be better guides than what the Chinese possess.

Don't think for a moment that I feel sure of all or any of these ideas. That would be silly. They are simply the result of the balancing of probabilities, feelings, etc., as they come to my mind. They wouldn't necessarily hold true for any one else, and, therefore, could not rightly serve as a basis of action for them. They may be partly bunk and self-deception, but I don't think so. So may anyone's ideas for that matter. But each of us must work out his own explanation of the world and make his own guesses as to the probable course of events and steer himself accordingly, as best he can. Altho' I can't be absolutely sure of anything, that isn't going to prevent me from acting according to my preferences and my hunch as to the probabilities.

So you see I'm headed for India because I think their way of living, despite its many glaring defects, is on the whole better than ours. I have seen and appreciate to some extent their poverty, illiteracy, fatalism, dirt, disease, squalor, slowness, inferiority complex, pettiness, caste and religious conflicts, climatic drawbacks, difficulties of dealing with a new language and customs, and other disadvantages. Nevertheless, avanti!





I'm not trying to run away from difficulties, internal or external. My own I'll carry with me. As to external difficulties, I'm merely trying to choose what kind I'll live and work with - Occidental or Oriental. I think I'm not underestimating the cussedness of human nature nor overestimating its capacity for good. Nor am I trying to be an ascetic. India interests and attracts me very strongly, ever since I saw it in 1914. It is full of sunshine and wonderful variety of life. Life can be more natural there. I think I can find a freer life, one more harmonious with my feelings, preferences, and convictions than I can here. If so, I can be of more use to people, have more comfortable contacts with them and be happier there than here.

I'm not especially articulate. I can work and act out my beliefs better than I can talk about them. In this country I practically can't live and do as I believe. That gives me a constant sense of being insincere. I could, of course, fight the group pressure all along, but that takes so much energy that you have none left for constructive work. Even to be different in one's diet, I find, subjects one to constant comment, argument, protests, ridicule or other individual or group pressure, and hinders easy human contacts, more or less. I'd prefer to go somewhere where such variations can be made without demanding so much energy to maintain them. In India, I think, I can speak and live more of my beliefs than here. So it will be more comfortable. If a scriptural phrase is not in poor taste, I don't want to hide my candle under a bushel or my talent in a napkin any longer, bum as the candle and talent may be. If it ~~was~~ reasonable for our ancestors to leave England for religious reasons, or for present day emigrants to change countries for economic reasons, the same ought to apply to such a shift to India for cultural reasons. Alan believes in making your life as interesting and happy as you can. That's me all over, Mabel, however much we may differ as to ways and means. Effecting improvements or changes is not the most important thing. But playing the game hard and well without reference to winning or losing is important.

Nor do the above reasons for choosing India mean that I believe that a person and his happiness are wholly controlled by his environment. People have a force in them that can at times or in part alter or transcend their environment. Yet everyone is greatly influenced by his environment. He has to make compromises with it, if he is to live. Psychologically, many of his actions become conditioned reflexes. So when he can, he ought to choose the environment whose tendencies will be most likely to help him in the direction he wants to go. He ought to select and subject himself as much as possible only to the factors that will condition the kind of responses and tend to create the kind of habits that he thinks worth while. Your environment provides the material, the means and





the theater for your struggle. So, if you prefer one kind of game to another, try to choose the environment that will permit you to play that game.

I believe it is Nietzsche who said that if your enemy can persuade you to use the kind of weapons he selects he has already defeated you. So if I stick around in an environment whose spirit I am opposed to, my chances of winning or of even being useful are greatly lessened. It is a bit like the futility of marrying a drunkard in the hope of reforming him. These institutions, wrong as they may be, are part of a historical process that have got to run their course. They are not external to people, but a part of them. Going to India will not get me entirely away from them, but it will give more elbow room.

I love you all and don't like to go so far away from you. But if my beliefs are right, the separation is not so abrupt or complete as it seems. Real nearness, the most important nearness, is nearness of feeling. People who share the same rooms but dislike each other are really further apart than those who are separated by ten thousand miles but love each other. It is akin to what Elinor means when she says that no matter how few letters she has written to or received from an absent friend, she can pick up the relationship right where it stood and just as intimately as when they separated. That's because she has kept the same community of feeling. And I'll go further than that and say there can be some sort of an active communion of feeling between people who care for one another and try to maintain it, no matter how far apart they are geographically. And after all, there are letters; and the mails to India, now often are less than four weeks in transit.

Anyhow, I must follow my own light and beliefs and desires. You see I have tried to test the various doubtful points of the plan. The story is a pretty long line of chatter - probably too long. But if it helps you to understand my ideas and feelings and purposes, the physical separation won't count so much. That is the hardest part of the program and my wish to make that easier is the reason for my writing so long a letter. In a letter I can set out my reasons in more unified fashion than by talking to you, even tho not all the details can be set down in writing.

As for the specific job there, while nothing is finally served up from this distance, I have a couple of chances at agricultural development work in two native States and lines out in several other directions. I never failed to land on my feet yet and don't expect to this time either.



8.

My immediate plans are to go to Chicago to try again to sell my lot and to sort and get rid of part of my books and belongings in storage there. Then I'll come East, via Hampton to see Jim, Mary and the children there. Then to New York for a few days. Then Boston. I want to sail soon after Christmas. Part of the time in Massachusetts I want to spend with Price and Middleton and part with Mother and the rest of you. Perhaps I could have a bit with Mary at So. Tanworth. I'll expect anyhow to see Mary and Elinor at Christmas. If by January Alan isn't in Russia, I could perhaps see him somewhere en route. I hope so. Anyhow I'll soon see all of you who are in the U. S. again.

With much love,

Richard

-Dear Ben:-

I didn't spill this while we were together because I didn't have it all framed up in my mind and wanted to test some of its details further and see some people here in Madison. Also it is perhaps better to give all my reasons in a lump like this. Also I wanted to enjoy all the loveliness and being with you & without other stuff intruding too much.

y.l.B.  
R.M.



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